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ABSTRACT

This document is comprised of four papers which explore issues related to world order. The volume is intended to increase understanding of the linkages between local and global issues, and to examine them as interrelated issues in an interdependent world. The first paper, "The Peace Paradigm," explores recent changes in social and political attitudes from a power orientation, characterized by independence and domination, to a peace orientation, characterized by interdependence. The second paper, "Housing and World Order," explains how the present high cost of housing in the United States is related to inflation and increased defense spending. In order to change the trend in housing costs, changes in national security needs must be made on a global scale. The third paper, "Hunger and World Order," relates how countries give top priority to mobilization for national security at the expense of feeding their undernourished populations. Monies and resources are spent on maintaining a balance of weapons and payments, not on providing adequate food. The fourth paper, "Hunger and World Order. Shaping a Moral Vision," encourages people to become individually involved in eliminating hunger because the world hunger issue is not one of charity but of social justice. (AV)

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The Peace Paradigm [And] Housing and World Order [And] Hunger and World Order [And] Hunger and World Order: Shaping a Moral Vision. The Whole Earth Papers, Vol. 1, No. 1-4, Fall, 1977.

By James Baines, and Others

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THE PEACE PARADIGM

By JAMES BAINES

the whole earth papers vol.1 no.1 fall, 1977

Since the rise of the first cities some 5,500 years ago, we have been involved in a construct of interrelated beliefs, values, exemplars and generalized knowledge which constitute a *power paradigm*. At the core of that paradigm has been the duel beliefs of independence and domination. We have sought to separate ourselves from our world, from each other, and even from our own natures. We have divided ourselves into warring groups, stratified ourselves into conflicting classes, and pitted ourselves against the very earth upon which we have lived. We have fragmented our own lives into specializations. We have whipped ourselves into "shape" through our "willpower." We have turned love into "love objects," and peace into pacifications.

In many ways we have been successful. There can be no question that we now dominate the earth. We are perhaps more safe and secure from natural forces than at any time in history. We have made incredible strides in conquering disease and death from organic causes. We have greater wealth than ever before, although we still haven't learned to distribute it; and hunger and malnutrition could be completely eradicated if we could make the moral commitment to do so. We have the technical capacity to do so for the first time in history.

But our successes have been purchased with massive failures. Our domination of the earth has led to disruption of ecosystems, destruction of more than 2,000 species, and to a growth of population and production which threatens the very well-springs of human existence itself. Safe from the elements and other creatures, we are an intense threat to ourselves. We are fragmented, alienated, and frightened. We have diminished souls and constricted our spirits. We die of our own gluttony, which we avidly hoard to ourselves while others die of our greed.

In the words of Eric Fromm, we are idolators. We are owned by our own creations, and have lost ownership of ourselves. (Fromm, 1955)

But this is changing. We are now on the verge of a new era in human development. It is the Age of Aquarius, and a *peace paradigm* is ascending — a paradigm constellated around *interdependence* and *transformation*.

The development of this new age may be obscured by wobbles, uncertainties, and setbacks; but as Teilhard de Chardin and others have indicated, it is organically and historically determined. It grows out of the soil of our own present predicament; it is fed upon the very failures which sometimes frustrate us. "After three centuries of growth and often spectacular success, the present phase of our psychosocial evolution has reached the limits of this usefulness," writes Sir Julian Huxley. (Huxley, 1970-73)

> The system of thought and action in which we all live and move and have our being has become essentially self-defeating and restrictive, and has set mankind on a false course. Today is a time of crisis. If we do nothing about it, 1999 — a date when the majority of the world's present human inhabitants will still be alive — will be a time of disaster.

"A time of crisis" — that is the key. For the frustration which those of us who seek to build a new society often feel is precisely because we are now in an age of crisis, a transition from one age to another: or more precisely, from one *paradigm* to another. Such a period is a crisis in the precise sense of an incipient *paradigm shift* as described by T.S. Kuhn in THE STRUCTURE OF SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTIONS. It is a time of great hope and great threat. As Huxley points out, it is a time of both positive and negative potential.

If we understand how a crisis operates, and how the paradigm shift occurs, we can maximize the positive potential and minimize the negative. But if we do not understand paradigms and their behavior, we may very well miss this opportunity to move human society from power to peace, from independence to interdependence, and from dominance to transformation. We may lose our struggle and inadvertently contribute to the disaster which Huxley predicts.

NATURE OF THE PARADIGM .....

A paradigm, according to T.S. Kuhn, is a constructed world of perception and conception. Human beings perceive "reality" in terms of paradigms. What they think to be external reality is actually an internally constructed *concept* of reality — a concept which is both technological and sociological, which includes both the "entire constellation of beliefs,

values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community," and also "one sort of element in that constellation, the concrete puzzle-solutions which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles . . ." (Kuhn, 1962)

In other words, both the belief systems and the problems defined by those systems, as well as the tools used to solve the problems are determined by the paradigm. They are all specific to the paradigm. Paradigms define, describe, justify, and suggest ways of dealing with reality. They determine *what* will be considered, *how* it will be considered, *why* it will be considered, and *who* will have the right to consider it. Paradigms are perceptually constructed worlds — total worlds, beyond which there is no other world. They are mental worlds, but they are not illusions. They are sources of behavior and action.

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Through a dialectical interaction between the physical and social environment, paradigms actually shape the external environment as much as they are shaped by it. Ideas determine what sort of institutions and structures exist in the external environment, and those institutions and structures in turn determine the "reality" that is perceived and shaped into further "feasible" concepts.

Because we believed it was our sacred duty to reconstruct the world in our image, and because we created thought systems which perpetuated and articulated that belief, we have proceeded to dam up rivers, hollow out tunnels, rip open mountains, tear down forests, pile tons of stone into artificial canyons, poison the streams, foul the air, and deplete the ozone. Because of the "success" of our ventures, the reality of our actions seemed to be validated.

But they were successful in terms of their own criteria. They produce wealth and security for those who control the power. There was no necessary connection between that success and success in terms of long-term survival — a fact that we have only recently become aware of. Now we know there is indeed a limit to power and the plundering of our planet. We know that the whole power paradigm constituted a closed circuit of positive feed-back loops that produced our present spiral to oblivion. But that is the nature of the paradigm — to prove itself by its own criteria.

THE STRUCTURE OF PARADIGMS . . . . . .

The reason why paradigms are so fool-proof is that they are self-contained. They coalesce all major elements of thought and feeling around a central core of meaning that seems to explain all the major facets of experience, and offer practical approaches to solving the basic problems that a society or civilization faces. According to Kuhn, paradigms consist of four major components. Those components include the following:

> 1. Symbolic generalizations, or " . . . those expressions, deployed without question or dissent by group members, which can readily be cast in a logical form, and which are the formal or the readily formalizable components of the disciplinary matrix." This is somewhat equivalent to "conventional wisdom," or the "thematic universes" of Paulo Freire.
>
> 2. "Beliefs in particular models which, among other things, supplies the group with preferred or permissable analogies and metaphors."
>
> 3. "Values, more general than either conventional wisdom or beliefs, which are used for making predictions, judging relative values or theories, and for judging internal and external consistency."
>
> 4. Exemplars, or " . . . the concrete problem-solutions that students encounter from the start of their . . . education — examples of how their job should be done." (Kuhn, 1962)

These components coalesce around a central core of major theories, philosophies, or tautologies. In smaller paradigms such as scientific ages, the core may consist of a single book or collection of works by one author. Such works are the ORIGINS OF THE SPECIES by Darwin, which for the first time viewed life as an ascending succession of interrelated organisms rather than as a collection of independently created groups; the WEALTH OF NATIONS, which moved economics from the status of "natural law" to the realm of human control; and ON THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS, which revealed the subterranean forces working on the human mind. Each of these works constituted a major threshold across which the entire view of reality shifted and changed. Each had an impact beyond their specialized fields of interest, with implications for the total spectrum of behavior. Together, they constituted a cluster of forces that altered the view of human nature and potential. They reinforced the "animalism" of the human being, and contributed in no small way to the horrorific view of humanity espoused by Professor Raymond Dart:

> The blood-bespattered, slaughter-gutted archives of human history from the earliest Egyptian and Sumerian records to the most recent atrocities of the Second World War accord with early universal cannibalism, with animal and human sacrificial practices or their substitutes in formalized religions and with the world-wide scalping, head hunting, body mutilating and necrophiliac practices of mankind in proclaiming this common bloodlust differentiator, this pra-

daceous habit, this mark of Cain that separates man dietetically from his anthropoidal relatives and allies him rather with the deadliest of the Carnivora." (Dart)

It is a view which still haunts peace-making efforts today, which is still popularized in books such as THE NAKED APE by Desmond Morris, and which is used to justify statements that "there shall always be wars and rumors of wars."

As suggested by this example, comprehensive paradigms also have a single center, but that center tends to be more a tautology than a limited theory of philosophy. This is particularly true of mega-paradigms such as the power paradigm. The core of such large paradigms tends to have religious significance, and purports to answer the ultimate questions of our origins and destiny. Because it does so, comprehensive paradigms are the "ultimate reality." They are the absolutes.

The core of the power paradigm certainly reflects the experience of the Judaeo-Christian heritage as exemplified in the Old Testament. This heritage has its origins in religious views common to all urban cultures from Mesopotamia on, and it has been spread in its Western version through cultural imperialism. This core heritage of beliefs and values sets the human being apart, endows him with special powers, and entrusts to him the care of the earth. It is a nebulous core, sometimes ambiguous. But it contains all the essential elements of the power paradigm — if interpreted in terms of domination and independence. Like all paradigm cores, it carries the genetic code for the entire construct. All the areas of inquiry are shaped by it. Science, philosophy, religion and the arts articulate the potentials inherent in the core. Within this core there are possibilities for numerous sub-paradigms — cultures, societies, and even ages; but they are in conformity with the major views of reality as determined by the core. They are all of one epoch.

HOW PARADIGMS CHANGE .....

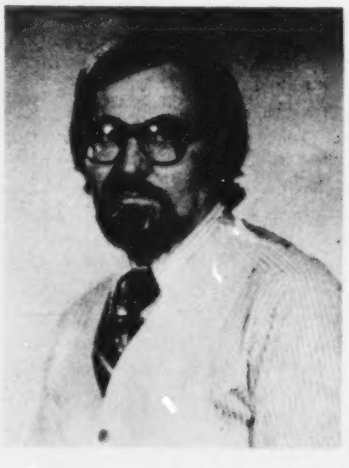
Paradigms are, of course, extremely useful. They provide the perspective and structure that is necessary to explore the world. Without them, everything would be chaos, without form and void. No one would know where to begin. The world would be overwhelming, and human consciousness itself would sink into an abyss of confusion. Indeed, human perception is the process of differentiating and assimilating experience into patterned "meanings." Without such a patterning process, perception and meaning would not exist.

But paradigms are also dangerous. They exclude vast sources of insight and knowledge that do not conform to the established symbolic generalizations, beliefs in models, values and exemplars. While paradigms are "young," they are exciting fields of discovery; but as they grow "older," they tend to discourage new ways of seeing things, new approaches to defining and solving problems, new understandings and meanings. They ultimately end up as the enemy of their own purpose — the attempt to better understand the world. They codify experience, ritualize response, and dogmatize faith. They ruthlessly purge dissent and exorcise creativity. They maintain their own existence by first defining reality then excluding any reality that has not been defined. They busy themselves with solving puzzles suggested by their own definitions rather than resolving contradictions between their definitions and experienced reality. They fixate on the letter of their sources rather than on their spirit. They crystallize into structures. They diminish the vision that spawned them.

Because paradigms are so internally reinforcing, they are virtually impregnable to attack. Yet, they are attacked, and they do change. New paradigms arise to replace the old ones, and the way in which this happens is extremely important to the understanding of human growth and development. It is essential to constructing intentional social change.

THE USE OF PARADIGMS .....

Paradigms change for a number of reasons. First, they change because no paradigm completely encompasses all of external reality and human experience. All paradigms are limited, incomplete, and misunderstood. Even when the works that constitute the cores of paradigms are relatively comprehensive in themselves, they will tend to be interpreted within the constrictions of past experience. Darwin, for example, advocated both competition and cooperation as forces in evolution, but the contemporary emphasis upon competition heightened that element of the theory and virtually ignored its complementary aspect of cooperation. But even the most comprehensive of cores, properly understood, are still limited in relation to the wealth of reality that exists outside its own "mind set."



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Second, because of this incompletion, all paradigms must inevitably confront contradictions or anomalies — either internally or externally, or both. Ironically, these anomalies are "uncovered" by the very people who wish to preserve the paradigm. Their efforts to prove the paradigm leads them to expose the external limits and internal contradictions of the paradigm — limits and contradictions which they themselves may not "see" or accept, but which may be seized upon by others who have not invested themselves in the paradigm, and so are free to challenge it. Such is the case of Teilhard de Chardin, who seized upon the progressive nature of Darwin's evolution and combined it with Christian cosmology to produce a radical new theory of Christology — of the directedness of evolution toward the Christ-state of being.

Once these anomalies appear, they begin to accumulate, and get the attention of legitimatizors. As they do so, they develop into *counterinstances* which effectively challenge the usefulness of the existing paradigm for answering the critical questions of survival. Out of the counterinstances, a new vision begins to emerge. A new possibility for interpreting reality rises. The thought of an Einstein begins to radiate outward and penetrate the areas of philosophy, morals and religion; or the views of a Chardin join with new interpretations of Freud, Simpson and others to form a "coalition" of interdisciplinary perspectives on the direction and intentionality of human development. A new "spirit" begins to grow.

This spirit initiates a *crisis*, such as we are now witnessing. The old paradigm is overtly threatened. Its defenders rally to its cause. They amass evidence and argue against the counter evidence. They decry and deny the assailers. But by now, the new vision has formed an attraction of its own. Legitimate counter evidence is available. Significant legitimatizors have been won over. A *paradigm shift* is imminent.

This is the critical point, for the shift may not occur. The new movement may be discredited or coopted. The old paradigm may adjust incrementally to the new evidence — including as much of it as needed to placate the distractors without really changing the core of the paradigm itself. Faced with evolution, churches might "reinterpret" the Genesis account of the first seven days by maintaining that "days" were periods or even ages. Or faced with relativity, society might adjust to "situational ethics" in private affairs, while retaining an absolutist stance in national affairs. The advocates of the new paradigm, on the other hand, may not accept these compromises. They may insist on a "revolution," and they may have the potential for winning. Their vision may strike too much at the heart of the old paradigm for peripheral alterations to satisfy them. The problems they see may be too basic to be solved by such adjustments. Then, and only then, is a true paradigm shift possible.

Within this rather simplistic sequence of paradigm shifts, there are a number of points to be emphasized. They "flesh out" the bare outline of the process, and provide insights into specifics of the process.

First, during the crisis, both the defendants and the advocates will argue their cases *within the context* of the respective paradigms. Cross-paradigm communication is virtually impossible. This is because not only the ideas, but even language itself is paradigm-specific. As Kuhn says, "When paradigms enter into a debate about paradigm choice, their role is necessarily circular. Each group uses its own paradigm to argue in that paradigm's defense." (Kuhn, 1962). Thus, when hardhats argue with "peaceniks," they often use the same words, but with different meanings. "Freedom" for the hardhat may mean national military strength, while for the peacenik it may mean personal liberty. Likewise with mine owners and environmentalists. "Quality of life" for the former may mean unabated production and expansion, while for the latter it might mean reduction of production and lowering of consumption. They may use the same words, but they are talking at cross-purposes because they are communicating on the periphery of the paradigms while operating from opposing centers. Only when the centers are reconciled will true communication take place.

The second thing to remember is that paradigm shifts are not logical and reasonable decisions. They are acts of faith. "The transfer of allegiance from paradigm to paradigm," says Kuhn, "is a conversion experience that cannot be forced." (Kuhn, 1962) This does not mean that paradigm shifts are anti-rational; only that they are not conventional and purely cognitive. They often carry the emotional impact of a sudden insight, of an "eureka" moment, even of being "born again." A shift from core to core is equivalent to a shift from world to world, and no one can know a new world except by faith.

A third thing to remember is that defenders of older paradigms are rarely "converted" to new paradigms. The more one is invested in the old world, the less likely one is to leave it. The more one has to lose, the less likely one is to try. Consequently it is usually the outsiders or the self-exiles who champion new visions. It is those who, like Christ, are born in out-of-the-way places and minister in the streets; or who, like Ghandi, give up their birthrights to join with the people, who bring about paradigm shifts. They are the discoverers, or the "great individuals" who have special capacities to take risks and live in the weightlessness that exists between worlds. They do not worry about making mistakes because they do not depend upon the approval of others for their self validity. They find direction in the promise of their vision. They march to a different drummer.

Fourth, because paradigm shifts are matters more of faith than of logic, and because they are championed by outsiders, they do not occur incrementally. They may be fed by the anomalies uncovered from within, but the vision and the critical insights that are necessary to fulfill the shift come from without, and the shift itself occurs relatively suddenly. The ano-

malies and counterinstances pile up like water behind a dam until they become too much for the dam to withstand, then they burst forth and settle in another level and configuration. It may even happen that the moments before the break will seem to be the most hopeless to those championing the new movement. So much seems to have been accomplished, yet so little effect is seen. The dam seems to hold against all odds. It is a discomforting time — that period between the heroism of the isolated commitments and the frustration of the rejected mass movements. It is the time in which many causes fail, because the dam seems to take on authenticity as it withstands the pressure. Those who expect consistently visible results may quit and join the "winners," but those who persist may feel the exhileration of the sudden victory.

Fifth, it is important to remember that any new paradigm is not completely new. Every new paradigm is rooted in the old. Often they incorporate elements of the old which have been previously rejected — just as the ideas of Gaylord Simpson and the views of Chardin incorporate the basic material of Darwin's evolution, or as the teachings of Christ incorporated the spirit of the Old Testament. New paradigms are often the fulfillment of previous visions which have been incompletely or inadequately crystallized by the old paradigm.

Sometimes, it may even seem that the new paradigm is a thrust backward — a radical return to conservatism, but this is rarely the case. Usually, it is an enlargement of previous content into new potentialities. It is a "rounding out" and fulfillment of prior visions that carry the individual and society further along the spiral of transformation.

Finally, it is important to remember that only a small proportion of any given population are either defenders or detractors of the existing paradigm. The majority of people, even committed people, live their lives in the tension that exists between paradigms. Unable to give themselves wholly to the new, yet equally unable to totally accept the validity of the old, they waver and vacilitate like so many Hamlets between decisive actions. They are essentially rooted in the existing paradigm, but they feel a pull to the new. It is these people who constitute the bulk of the paradigm shift. It is they who will suddenly switch and cause the dam to break.

In the past, such shifts have occurred primarily because of sudden and massive failure of the existing paradigm. Shifts were the results of catastrophies. Cultures were changed by conquests. Major discoveries revolutionized thought and values, often causing order to grow out of havoc.

There are those who still hold this view today. They say that things will change when they get bad enough. Perhaps it will take a major war, mass starvation, even the demise of the earth as we know it before we will "wake up." But this is to forget that we are now conscious of our own consciousness, that works such as those of Kuhn's have made us aware of the way in which we construct realities, and so makes it possible — perhaps for the first time — for us to consciously construct basic social change. This is the task we face.

THE POWER PARADIGM . . . . . .

The "reality" which we seek to change is the *Power Paradigm*. As previously stated, the core of this paradigm runs deep within the practical and legalistic structures of the Judeao-Christian heritage as well as in the related beliefs of other religions. The power paradigm is dominated by a male Jehovah, who creates "man" in order to subdue the earth, and orders him at various times to kill his enemies, destroy their stock, and sing praises to the "victory." It is a paradigm in which the less hairy and more cunning of two brothers dupes the more hairy and earthy one and steals his birthright, to become the progenitor of God's chosen people. It is a paradigm of law and vengeance, of heirachical authority and righteous superiority. It stones the prophets who insist that God is also the Lord of Peace and Compassion. It cannot recognize the One sent to preach the good news to the poor or to save the sinner.

New paradigms are often the fulfillment of previous visions which have been incompletely and inadequately crystallized by the old paradigm.

These inherent assumptions of the power paradigm are built into its products, which serve as models of the paradigm itself. Early cities, for example, were consciously constructed as "navels" of the world, as microcosms of the cosmos. They were isolated from their environments by high walls and narrow gates. They were punctured by towers. Their massive centers were monuments to their privileged few, and the structures grew smaller and less permanent as they radiated outward across the diminishing circles of power that constituted their citizenry. They were centers of subjugation. They subjugated the land and the people around them, and they sent the first armies out to subjugate their rivals. They were, in the words of Lewis Mumford, masculine products. They were ruled by male god-kings, and they were characterized by masculine shapes. Their work was regularized. They were concerned with domination and conquest rather than protectiveness and prudence.

The major institutions propagated by this paradigm are also its models. They are centralized, stratified, and compartmentalized. Their organizational charts clearly reflect the pyramidal forms that dominated the cities themselves. They, too, are dominated by males, and tend to form self-contained "kingdoms" which are attached to their environment only through very carefully controlled "inputs" and "outputs". Even the language of the major institutions reflect their power function. The two key words for the stock market — bull and bear — are allusions to the fighting behavior of "virile" animals. "We're going to make a kill," "the battle lines are drawn,"

"its a fight to the finish," and "winner take all," are all typical business jargon. Every major institution or bureaucracy in our society is rooted in the power paradigm — the family included.

In addition to these models, there are also *exemplars* which constitute condensed models for proper behavior on the personal level. These exemplars represent the preferred images of social roles. They embody the major values of the power paradigm, and they usually represent the institutions which are the major models for the paradigm — business, government, the military, and "legitimatized" science — those scientific efforts and achievements which have been accepted by the dominant public lounges, and the lecture halls. They are the George Washingtons, the Teddy Roosevelts, the George Pattons, the Starsky and Hutchs, and the Commissioner MacMillans. They are predominantly male, except for a few women who tend to "outmale" the males and who are still generally under the supervision of a man, as in "Charley's Angels," and "Policewoman." One can usually determine who the exemplars are by simply looking at the pictures that adorn the walls of the schoolrooms, the banks, the public lounges, and the lecture halls.

The values that emerge from these beliefs, models and exemplars are self evident. They constitute positive associations with power (including cunning, wealth, authority and organization; and negative associations with simplicity, equality, cooperation, and gentility. They reinforce the fragmentism and strict physicality of the power paradigm, and negate holism and spiritualism. Through labeling non-power characteristics as "impractical," "infeasible," "unrealistic," etc., these values screen-out vast amounts of material as unworthy or unuseful for those who would truly "get things done."

THE PEACE PARADIGM . . . . . .

Yet, simply because that material is "screened out" by the existing paradigm does not mean it necessarily goes away. In fact, much of it remains to become the raw material for the new, opposing paradigm — in this case, the peace paradigm.

Unlike the power paradigm, which is fully emergent and crystallized, the peace paradigm is only now clearly coming into focus. Its core is not yet fully formulated, although at least two of its characteristics — interdependence and transformation — are now widely recognized as operative principles in individual, social, and national arenas. No single work or collection of works, however, has as yet succeeded in crystallizing the "loose" material of the peace paradigm into a readily-recognizable whole capable of generating a mass allegiance or paradigmic shift. This is a task of upmost importance, and one which is emerging from the rich variety of efforts now being undertaken by "alternative" groups.

The material from which this new paradigm is being constructed is of two basic kinds. First, there is that material which has always existed side-by-side with the power paradigm. It is the sacred insight that was first used to legitimatize the "god-kings" of the early cities, and which has persisted in periodic expressions of purity despite the systematic secularization of modern "civilization" over the last 5,000 years. This material may have been "worshipped" by the power paradigm, but it was not incorporated into the practical fabric of that paradigm. In fact, worship was often a way of co-opting the spiritual material without actually "using" it.

The raw material of the peace paradigm also includes the ideas of creativity and discovery which have always been operative in the power paradigm, but which have been used by that paradigm only under stringent limitations. Creativity and discovery have been *allowed* only when they served the needs of the power paradigm. They have been consistently discouraged as right behavior in themselves. Yet, the impulse to create and discover has persisted. Today, it is one of the major factors in demonstrating the limits of the power paradigm. It is the force behind calls for "academic freedom," "the right of investigation," "the need for quality education," and even the necessity for human rights.

Still another type of raw material that has existed for some time is the idea of "objectivity." This has always been central to the rhetoric of the power paradigm, but again, it has been used to mean "objectivity within limits." Objectivity has been confined to material investigations, because it has always been assumed that only the senses can be truly objective — that once one moves into the labyrinths of the mind, there can be no objectivity. This is now being questioned, and it is leading to the challange to go beyond the physical — to pursue the non-physical realities which can be observed to exist, but which cannot be experienced sensorally. A new respect for esoteric philosophy and spiritual pursuits has emerged as "scientifically" valid.

Finally, there has been a consistent growth in the values of freedom and democracy which have been produced in no small part by the rationalistic, scientific spirit of the power paradigm. As with discovery, creativity, and objectivity, the realities of freedom and democracy have often fallen far short of their potential; but the concepts of freedom and democracy have persisted and now constitute one of the main "rallying points" for the new paradigm. Taken seriously, these ideas have spawned revolutions in the power paradigm and they are now giving rise to efforts for personal and social liberation around the world.

In addition to this material which has always existed along side the power paradigm, there is also a vast amount of raw material for the peace paradigm that has only recently emerged. This material includes radical new interpretations of old material — interpretations which, for all intents and purposes, gives the old material a new reality. Such is the work of Teilhard Chardin which reinterprets classical evolution into spiritual intentionality; the writings of Mircea Eliade which illustrates the wisdom of mythology and symbols; the revivals of American Indian and Eastern religious poetry and philosophy which brings to

"life": the practical knowledge of consciousness and the environment that operated in a more harmonious time; and the reexaminations into the history of cultures and nations which demonstrates the distortions and eliminations which are rampant in conformist history — especially as regards blacks, Indians, women, and the people in general.

Also included in this "new" material are recent discoveries and developments which significantly alter the constellation of the old paradigm. Among the most dramatic of these are the development of atomic power and the space program. The first has brought the possibility of the "total war" into being for the first time, and the second has altered our entire perception of this, our water planet. Because we had to create a human environment for space, we have become much more sensitive to, and aware of the delicacy of our own environment; and because we have actually penetrated into space, we have become more cognizant of our special situation, of the beauty of our planet, and of the almost religious awe in which it is held by those who have seen it from "out there."

The new paradigm must carry through until the core of the old is changed. It cannot stop short of a structural change.

All of this material, and much more like it, is beginning to demonstrate that the old power paradigm can no longer adequately solve the critical problems of our time and insure our survival. A new regard for the non-material, the simple, the direct, the spiritual, and the co-operative has emerged. The Institute for World Order is developing alternative future models built upon values growing out of major global problems; E.F. Schumacher is inspiring numerous practical efforts in middle technology; John Friedman and Donald Michaels are exploring new approaches to long-range planning; Global Education Associates and others are training teachers and developing curriculum for global learning; Efforts toward a National Peace Academy in the U.S. are growing; The American Friends Service Committee and SANE are advocating disarmament and conversion to peace technology; and Robert Ornstein, Charles Tart and others are expanding our understanding of our own consciousness and putting it to work for us. Nutritionists and consumer advocates are reordering our buying and eating habits; and the work of Abraham Maslow and others is leading us to reassert our drive to transform ourselves.

Everywhere and in all places, alternative activity is growing. By all signs we are surely on the verge of a paradigm-shift. But the shift will not necessarily occur. As already stated, shifts can be defeated or co-opted. The new paradigm must carry through until the *core* of the old is changed. It cannot stop short of a structural change.

CREATING A SHIFT . . . . . .

In order to create a paradigm shift from power to peace, a number of efforts must be initiated. They include at least the following:

1. Crisis leaders must be developed. Individuals capable of sustaining a successful paradigm shift can either be located or mobilized, or they can be specifically trained. These will need to be people who have skills that are not prized, skills such as those needed for long-range planning as discussed by Donald Michaels in his book, LEARNING TO PLAN AND PLANNING TO LEARN. They must be able to "live with and acknowledge great uncertainty;" "to embrace error;" to "seek and accept the ethical responsibility and the conflict-laden interpersonal circumstances that attend goal-setting;" "to evaluate the present in the light of anticipated futures, and commit themselves to action in the present intended to respond to such long-range anticipations; to "live with role stress and forego the satisfactions of stable, on-the-job, social group relationships;" "to be open to changes in commitments and direction, as suggested by changes in the conjectured pictures of the future and by evaluations of on-going activities." (Michaels, 1973)

2. Counterinstances must be identified, isolated, and validated from both outside and inside the power paradigm. The work of Richard Falk and Lester Brown is in this vein, as in much of the work of consumer advocates such as the Center for Science in the Public Interest, and of educational critics such as Jonathan Kozol, Ivan Illich, and Herbert Kohl. But this work must progress with still more precision and a greater intent to invalidate the core of the power paradigm.

3. Efforts must be made to demonstrate how the beliefs, values and examples of peace and world order enhance the meaning of contemporary experience and/or increase the effectiveness of actions designed to alleviate counterinstances of power abuse, alienation, resource depletion, hunger, injustice and insecurity. The new models now emerging for simple life styles, appropriate technology, spiritual awakening, and consciousness expansion are significant examples of this category of efforts; as is the historical work of Gene Sharp and others who demonstrate the past validity of peace paradigm approaches. As these efforts grow and expand, they will inevitably form a "web of reinforcement" that will constitute an alternative society, but their work could be quickened if it were more consciously attuned to wholesale structural change.

4. Finally, all of the above must be consolidated into a new paradigm. This paradigm must be more than a simple collection of beliefs and strategies. It "must be a crystallization of beliefs and values around a central tautology. It must have the nature of authentic religion — a religion based upon human experience in its totality, including its predisposition for transformation; a religion which is in the world but not of it; a religion in which there is no dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual, but in which the spiritual is not confined to the physical; a religion with a central vision in which humanity is both a part of creation, and a responsible steward of creation — both a product of evolution, and an instrument of evolution. This religion must emerge organically from the "practical" aspects of the new paradigm, and it must coalesce those practical aspects into a unified whole that makes "sense," and that explains the critical phenomena of our time.

By thinking of these activities in terms of a paradigm shift, perhaps we will have the overall construct that is necessary to make at least three types of decisions. First, perhaps we can more clearly see and maximize the interrelatedness of our many efforts. Second, perhaps we can establish priorities among all those things being done. Third, perhaps we can consciously identify the gaps which exist in our efforts, and more efficiently close those gaps. These are three things that ultimately must happen if we are to create *intentional* social change as opposed to cummulative change as has occured in the past. These things must be done if we are to use our consciousness as the new instrument for evolution which it is. "Man has risen, not fallen," writes Gaylord Simpson:

> He can choose to develop his capacities as the highest animal and to try to rise still farther, or he can choose otherwise. The choice is his responsibility, and his alone. There is no automatism that will carry him upward without choice or effort . . ." (Simpson, 1949)

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is a paradigm? How does it work?
2. Why is an understanding of the basic paradigm out of which a society functions important?
3. Who is included in the "we" of Jim Baines' description of the *power* paradigm? To what extent is the *power* paradigm as described by Baines a construct of Western civilization and to what degree is it universal? Is there evidence of a *power* paradigm operative among more traditional, simpler food gathering and agrarian societies?
4. How does the *power* paradigm bear on male and female roles and relationships?
5. To what degree is the *power* paradigm giving way to a *peace* paradigm? What evidence can you cite from your personal experience and from trends in education, politics, art, media, environment, etc.?
6. Which paradigm do you personally function in — the power paradigm or the peace paradigm? Is it possible to function in both? If so, in what instances do you find yourself functioning in the power paradigm? In the peace paradigm?
7. To what extent has religion reinforced the power paradigm? The peace paradigm?
8. How do paradigm shifts occur? Who initiates them? Under what circumstances?
9. Is it possible for a creative minority to intentionally bring about a paradigm shift from power to peace? How would they go about it?
10. In what ways is a shift from a power to a peace paradigm important to the development of a new world order?

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HOUSING AND WORLD ORDER

By FRANK TESTA and GERALD MISCHE

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This paper was first developed in a preliminary form for a conference on "Housing and World Order" that was conducted by Global Education Associates at Seton Hall University and funded by the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities.

Men and women have always struggled with the problem of obtaining adequate housing. But rapid population growth and massive rural-to-urban migration have made housing one of the most urgent problems confronting humankind.

The 1976 United Nations HABITAT Conference in Vancouver has helped focus world consciousness not only on the urgency of the housing issue. It also underlined the complexity of the issue as it relates to other inter-related issues in today's interdependent world.

Acknowledging that housing problems of the 150 some sovereign countries are not identical, an analysis of the housing problems in the United States within the *macro* frame of global interdependence touches upon some critical factors that are operative in most, if not all, countries — factors which today are relegating housing to a secondary place on the agenda of national priorities.

The official U.S. government projection of housing needs embodied in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 and the President's Committee on Housing in the early 70's has been twenty-six million new and rehabilitated housing units by 1978-1980. Most housing agencies, housing experts and housing advocacy groups throughout the nation consider the need to be *greater* than twenty-six million units. The exact housing need of the nation is hard to calculate. But most experts agree it is of crisis proportion and the crisis — which has been with us for more than three decades — continues unabated.

The development of that housing crisis, as well as its resolution, is linked not only to the question of national leadership but also to *global forces* that impact on our nation.

AMBITIOUS HOUSING PROGRAMS.....

Not only have our housing goals been ambitious, but our housing programs as well.

Father Frank Testa is co-chairperson of the New Jersey Housing and Land Use Coalition and director of the Campaign for Human Development in Newark, New Jersey. Gerald Mische is president of Global Education Associates and co-author of TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER.

Beginning in 1934, when the F.H.A. was created with its system of mortgage insurance, we have seen a host of housing programs expected to help the production and financing of housing.

The F.H.A. was created to get the housing industry back on its feet and, after the economy got moving, all able-bodied people would have jobs and financial security to qualify for guaranteed mortgages. The F.H.A. was conceived in a pre-technological age before large numbers of working people became structurally unemployed and millions more only marginally employed. Lower income families were locked out of the opportunities for equity and tax benefits of the middle class.

The U.S. Housing Act of 1937 launched an effort to house the poor with the creation of the U.S. Housing Authority and a federal program of subsidies to cover the cost of development and construction of public housing.

In 1944, the Veterans Administration's mortgage guarantee program was established, making home ownership possible for many young and middle-class families.

Both F.H.A. and V.A. mortgage insurance programs contributed to the rapid development of suburbia after World War II.

The 1960's saw the most ambitious housing programs in the history of governmentally assisted housing in the U.S.: 1961-21(d)(3)BMIR; 1965-Rent Supplement; 1966-Section 21(h);

1968, the year of the most comprehensive housing programs, gave us Sections 235 and 236, a Special Risk Insurance Fund and National Housing Partnerships.

With the 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act and its goal of twenty six million new and rehabilitated housing units by 1978, all the housing tools seemed available to pursue that goal.

THE RESULTS.....

What happened? Why, in 1977, is the United States so far from reaching the goal of the Housing

Act of 1949 — "A decent home . . . for every family"?

Why is it that housing production is approximately one half of the annual need of over 2.3 million units, one of the sharpest declines in the last 20 years?

Why is it that 85% of American families cannot afford to purchase a median-priced new home ($51,000)?

There has been gain for *some* families. Our system of mortgage insurance has served the middle class very well. The F.H.A. has created, in large measure, the suburbia we now know.

But what about the poor? The public housing program has produced little over one million units since 1937. The 235 program, designed to bring home-ownership within the reach of more than one million lower income families by 1978, was abused by real estate speculators and F.H.A. officials.

All the financial formulas from 221 (d) (3), 256, 236, 202 and 221 (h) — to Ginny Mae take out and Fanny Mae back-up have proved to be "woefully inadequate." This evaluation of the Kaiser Committee meant "no money." The very same congressional session that authorized the programs of the 1968 Housing Act failed to appropriate the funds needed for the programs to function at the authorized level. The President's Committee on Urban Housing termed it a "tease-then-take-away" policy. The $4.1 billion outlay for "community development and housing" in fiscal 1968, represented only 2.3% of the total budget outlays for that year.

The result of all of the federal housing subsidy programs for low and moderate income families was 1.5 million units by mid-1970 or one seventh of the "rock bottom" need determined by the National Commission on Urban Problems at the end of the 1960's.

Some evaluate the housing programs of the Kennedy and Johnson era as a sign that the national government was willing to experiment and seek a broad-based approach to federal housing efforts. Others see them as "gimmicks" designed to compensate for the shortage of money given to housing. Whatever the evaluation, the liberalization of the F.H.A. and even the spending levels for housing under the Johnson administration were all reversed under the subsequent Nixon and Ford administrations.

The stated commitment to housing as a number one domestic priority was subverted by the pursuit of a tragic and costly war in Southeast Asia.

INFLATION AND HOUSING . . . . . .

Washington's tight money policy under the Nixon and Ford administrations turned the housing goals of previous years into elusive dreams. Admidst this inflation-fighting policy, the best we came to expect from the federal government were Housing and Community Development Block Grants, Section 8. These grants can at best provide senior citizen housing and a system of direct housing subsidies to families — a system that may cause further inflation of housing costs. (How resources are made available is secondary to how much.)

In the Nixon-Ford policy of "cooling down" the economy, the industry that was cooled down the most was the housing industry. In 1970, Nixon acknowledged the burden suffered by the housing industry by the tight money policy, but little was done to lessen that burden. The same was true under Ford.

The Carter administration and new H.U.D. director, Patricia Harris, also face inflation pressures that affect pending priorities. Whether a change in policy or a change in priorities will improve the housing industry and give evidence of renewed national commitment to provide a "decent environment for every American family" remains to be seen.

Secretary Harris has echoed many of the points in the preceding parts of this paper. Funding levels for housing programs have been increased. But the constraints of national security imperatives and the impingement of unregulated global forces — economic, monetary and military — on domestic policy are increasing as global interdependence grows.

Inflation is a case in point regarding this *linkage* between local and global. In today's interdependent world economy, inflation has deep roots in global as well as in domestic realities.

Unless we situate our social issues in a macro-framework that identifies national security imperatives, housing gains will be minimal.

OTHER ECONOMIC REALITIES . . . . . .

Tax dollars collected by the federal government are disbursed according to spending priorities of the federal government. We need to revamp our system of taxation and allocation of revenue across federal, state and local levels or we shall never save our cities.

In addition to revamping the tax system, we must begin to deal with the cost of land, financing, materials and labor, if we are ever to seriously deal with the housing crisis in this country.

Much of today's inflation is rooted in the supply and demand dynamics of a global market place which lacks the regulatory institutions which national societies possess to affect monetary and fiscal policy as means of controlling inflation. Inflation is also rooted in the massive defense-related expenditures which are escalating in our lawless interdependent world — expenditures which create enormous demand pressures on available resources, goods, services and labor costs.

Thus despite the fact that the funding levels for housing and the number of housing starts have both increased under the Carter Administration, the spectacular inflationary spiral of housing costs is pricing much of the middle class out of the housing market.

In our major metropolitan areas, the price of raw land was more than twice as high in 1970 as it was 20 years before. The cost of mortgage money adds more to the ultimate cost of a home than any other cost item.

More favorable economic changes will have to be achieved in all these areas if the cost of housing is to be relieved significantly.

URBAN DISINVESTMENT .....

A major factor in urban neighborhood deterioration is disinvestment by lending institutions. Neighborhoods and whole cities have been written off by the practice of "redlining." This process of cutting off lines of credit has contributed to spreading blight and wholesale destruction of neighborhoods. Following upon the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975, citizen action for reinvestment by lending institutions will have to be coupled by programmatic neighborhood revitalization efforts that are adequately funded.

EXCLUSIONARY ZONING .....

Another major factor contributing to the housing crisis in the U.S. is suburban exclusionary zoning. Low and moderate income families are entrapped in our cities because of the use of zoning by suburban communities as a device to lock them out. The result: our suburbs have become reserves for the rich and our cities concentration camps for the poor and ethnic and racial minorities. For example, two thirds of the Black and Spanish-speaking population lives on only ½ of 1% of the land in New Jersey and lives in only 12 of the State's 576 communities, most of which are cities.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? .....

Advocates of opening up the suburbs agree that we are in need of an urban development policy in the U.S. that does not continue the restriction of solutions to inner city areas but recognizes the geographic distribution of resources throughout metropolitan regions, and utilizes the resources of land, money and jobs to help solve inner city problems. Renewal of our cities should be accompanied by the provision of opportunities for migration of low and moderate income households to the suburbs. Our present urban development strategy does not include dispersed economic integration but continues the concentration of poverty in our cities.

Housing experts and housing advocates today believe that we have the capacity, on the federal, state and local levels, to produce more and better housing each year than we are producing. They have identified areas for needed change and have proposed new housing legislation, different modes of financing, new methods of construction, and legal and political action in the areas of zoning and disinvestment.

Some, like the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment officials, propose that we "do away with the jungle of existing programs and replace it with a 'single subsidy mechanism' that would apply to all rental, private and cooperative housing built with federal aid."

Others feel that our nation possesses the financial resources and ingenuity to respond to the housing crisis but seriously question our national commitment. They feel that the housing crunch has not been sufficiently felt by the middle class to ensure a national commitment.

If, indeed, we do have the financial resources, why are budget allocations not commensurate with the housing need? Why is housing, along with other pressing domestic social needs, not given the priority it deserves?

TOWARD A GLOBAL FRAMEWORK .....

We need to broaden the framework of our analysis of the housing crisis to answer that question. We have been seeing it too exclusively in a micro-framework that ignores the fact of global interdependence and the linkages between domestic issues and global issues.

Some recent expressions of these linkages have had direct influence on unmet housing needs.

> One reason for the inadequate funding of the 1968 Housing Act programs was the Johnson "guns and butter" policy. We were caught in a tragic and costly war that claimed top priority in budget allocations.
>
> The implicit reason for the Nixon moratorium on government housing programs in 1973 was the decided policies of increased defense spending and correcting deficits in the balance of international payments.
>
> The Ford administration explicitly stated that its priorities were not social needs but rather defense spending, a balanced ledger of international payments and energy independence.

It would be a mistake, however, to judge that these three instances were merely policy aberrations of fallible presidents — and that other men, more committed to social justice, would have chosen other policies that would have achieved the National Housing Act's goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every family." For such a judgment fails to reckon with a structural straitjacket that increasingly renders national leaders *powerless* to reorder today's national security priorities. Can President Carter, who faces the same national security priorities, realistically resurrect the withheld promise of "a decent home for every family"?

Unless we situate our social issues such as housing in a *macro-framework* that identifies the national security imperatives of an interdependent but lawless world, and *unless we develop housing strategies that address themselves to these imperatives*, housing gains — even under new administrations — will only be minimal. Levels of frustration will be maximal. And housing will never really have a priority commitment in our nation.

A first task in breaking out of the present national security straitjacket is to identify three major

dimensions of the national security mobilization that dominates all nations — rich or poor, capitalist or socialist.

1. *Balance-of-Weapons Competition*
This area of national security mobilization is the most familiar. Over $300 billion spent annually by humankind on armaments — U.S. expenditures now nearly $120 billion. These monies could help finance a multitude of housing units, energize urban renewal programs, and create widespread jobs among the urban unemployed.

The primary centralizing force of what is popularly known as the "Corporate State" is the imperative of national security.

2. *Balance-of-Payments Competition*
Without effective supranational authority to assure security and justice in international economic and monetary relations, countries *at all costs* seek to avoid a chronic deficit in international monetary transactions. A sustained imbalance of trade in which imports would exceed exports, for example, would deplete a country's monetary reserves of gold and foreign currency. The result of this depletion — as monetary reserves are used up to offset this trade deficit—would be a grave instability of the national currency, exposing a nation's domestic scene to inflation, unemployment and societal breakdown. A nation's *security* as well as its overall welfare is involved.

As balance-of-payments deficit crises increase, domestic programs that cannot produce foreign currency are logically subordinated to economic/monetary security priorities. Priority, instead, is given to the production of goods that sell on the *world* market. Production of grain, armaments, computers, transistors and aircraft — all exportable items — become identified as national security production. Whereas, housing, urban renewal and other social programs — which cannot be sold on the world market — are not. The latter are accordingly placed on back burners of national agendas. Government subsidies and loan guarantees are increasingly determined by these monetary goals. (Witness Lockheed, which as an exporter of aircraft and armaments obtains loan guarantees of several hundred million dollars.)

3. *Scarce Resource Competition*
"Project Energy Independence" exemplifies the devastating impact that this third engine of national security mobilization has on housing needs. Without an effective global agency to assure an equitable distribution of the world's scarce resources, it is logical for "developed" and "developing" nations alike to mobilize their monies and institutions for resource security. The United States government has been spending—directly or indirectly — tens of billions of dollars on Project Energy Independence. The result is that housing, urban renewal and other social justice priorities are further locked out of national agenda priorities.

This constant threefold mobilization of leadership, finances, technology and societal institutions for national security constitutes a straitjacket on those domestic goals which do not contribute to the national security competition over armaments, monetary balances and scarce resources. Housing is one of those "non-strategic" goals that are put on the back burner of national agendas.

This mobilization also makes subservient the individual needs of citizens — whose personal lives are increasingly determined and made anonymous by the *aggregate* figures and goals of such security competition.

Today's constant mobilization is not primarily the work of demon men and women. It is, rather, a logical outcome of the nation-state competition that, in an interdependent world, is inherent in a lawless world system based upon the principle of unlimited national sovereignty.

The security of every country depends upon a balance of weapons, a balance of international payments and adequate primary resources — goals which increasingly depend upon the mobilizing policies of governing elites. Given the lack of effective world law, it is the *logical* responsibility of those in power to give priority to policies designed to deal with the imperatives of military, monetary and resource security of their countries.

One result of this constant mobilization is the rise of the *National Security State* with its structural straitjacket on domestic, social justice priorities. The primary centralizing force of what is popularly known as the "Corporate State" is the imperative of national security.

This multiple national security function of the modern nation-state has come to dominate all nations — rich or poor, capitalist or socialist. It is one reason why, with few exceptions, adequate housing is such an urgent, unmet problem all over the world.

Needed: A "World Security System"

Lacking a "world security system" of global functional agencies capable of providing industrial nations with *military*, *monetary* and *resource* security, national leaders are powerless to substantially reorder national priorities.

A world security system would not mean the abolition of the nation state. Nor is it synonymous with

a centralized "world government." Rather — recognizing that unregulated technological, monetary and economic forces at the global level are making a fiction of national sovereignty as they devastate domestic priorities — world order advocates point to the need of functional global agencies which would have the authority to regulate these rampant forces.

Especially powerless before such global forces are those who live in urban areas across the globe. It was pointed out at the *U.N. Conference on Human Settlements — Habitat* in Vancouver, Canada, that 60% of the world's people will be urbanized by the year 2000 and the world's population will nearly double by that time.

A world security system capable of guaranteeing true national security against military, economic and resource threats is thus seen as a necessary step in restoring to national leaders the power to give priority to the growing build-up of unmet domestic social needs. (For further discussion on world order, see TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: BEYOND THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRAITJACKET by Gerald and Patricia Mische. Paulist Press. 1977. $2.95 paperback.)

It is important that housing advocates recognize this straitjacket on their efforts. It is not enough to organize housing coalitions to impact on policy and budget priorities of city hall and State houses across the nation. Nor will efforts at the national level — at the White House or on Capitol Hill — be adequate. Housing advocates must also identify the impingement of unregulated global forces from outside of national borders as an increasing source of their powerlessness.

All nations — and most communities — are vulnerable to the impact of rampant technological, monetary and economic forces of today's interdependent but lawless arena. National leaders are substantially powerless to protect their citizens from the impact of these forces that impinge upon every aspect of domestic life. *Especially vulnerable and powerless* before such global forces are those who live in the urban areas across the globe.

As we have seen, *inflation* is no longer an isolated domestic phenomenon, rooted alone — or even primarily — in ill-advised domestic policy. Its roots are deeply imbedded in the forces of the global scene. Effective control of inflation depends upon transnational agencies with the authority and power to enforce equitable pricing policies, to provide funds and technology to develop resources of other areas of the world, and to assure a just distribution of those resources.

Besides returning real power to *national* societies, effective world order institutions would enable more power to be returned to *local* communities. As the national security logic for centralized elite decision-making is diminished, real decentralization of power becomes possible. Local community control can then become more than nominal cliches of "revenue sharing" as aggregate corporate power would no longer be an essential element for military, monetary and resource security.

A STRUCTURAL STRAITJACKET .....

The simplistic "oppressor-oppressed" syndrome of some liberation theorists has failed to adequately deal with this full reality of global interdependence. It does constitute a useful perspective. But in failing to identify the national security straitjacket, the "oppressor-oppressed" scenario easily breeds a dangerous demonology which results in *faulty social analysis* and unnecessary *polarization*.

The problems of social injustice, of dehumanization and of citizen powerlessness are not adequately explained by present catagories of capitalism or socialism, or of military-industrial complexes, or of multinational corporations, or of sin and human nature. Overlying all of these realities is the structural and logical straitjacket of the National Security State. Little significant progress can be made on any of today's domestic problems unless we place them within the *macro* analysis and begin *now* to include in our strategies of empowerment the transitional steps toward the world order institutions that can loosen the straitjacket.

This is not a *reductionist* conclusion. It does not reduce the problems of housing, urban decay, racism and poverty to a single cause. Rather — recognizing their complexity and interrelatedness — it identifies a straitjacket which prevents adequate solutions to any of them. It identifies a common victimhood of groups that too often, rather than joining hands to influence City Hall or Congress, stand apart in suspicion and accusation of each other as alleged causes of each others' ills.

Arising above simplistic ideologies and demonologies, such an analysis permits a more objective and effective approach to confronting much of the injustices of Capitalism and Communism alike — injustices that are often obscured or rationalized by "national security" imperatives.

OPEN UP HISTORY .....

A gradual evolution of an effective world order (i. e., a world governed by law) will not guarantee any utopian world. What it can do is to open up history so that significant progress can be made in human development and in areas of social justice.

A practical dilemma comes in at this point. On one hand, we must respond to the *immediate* injustices of our present world. On the other, we must also commit ourselves to become involved in strategies for taking the transitional steps toward world order institutions that can permit us to get at the roots of many of the present day injustices.

Fortunately, there need be no either/or choice. Both types of initiatives are needed. Suffice it to say, however, that even the responses to immediate injustices must be made within a macro-frame of interdependence. Only in such a frame can we accurately identify all the forces that are impinging upon a particular issue and, therefore, be able to formulate more accurate and effective strategies for responding to it.

Beyond recognition of the need for analyzing urban problems in a global framework, housing actionists need to publicly support the development of global functional institutions. Such institutions can provide the relative equilibrium in which an integrated revamping of the housing industry and our response to housing needs can be realized.

This support action would in no way preclude the aggressive efforts to improve the production of housing and political action to ensure a greater share of national, state and municipal budgets for housing for low and moderate income people. On the contrary. It can provide a basis for *hope* and *perseverance* among those many persons who, after long years of community organizing and political action are despairing.

The divergence between housing pragmatists and world order strategists is beginning to narrow. For housing advocates to remain in the present framework of totally sovereign national borders is impractical.

To step out of this micro framework may, at first glance, appear threatening to one's pragmatic commitments and instincts. But the ultimate pragmatism recognizes that -- outside of a world order framework — there is no way in which humankind is going to adequately meet the basic need and right to adequate housing.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is adequate housing a basic human right?
2. Which aspects of unmet housing needs are due to *local* factors and can be handled by locally based strategies?
3. Which aspects are rooted in *national* factors and need nationally based strategies?
4. What *global* factors are responsible for unmet housing needs?
   What structures and strategies are needed for dealing with these new realities of today's interdependent world?
5. How are these local, national and global factors interrelated?
   Do they interact upon each other?
6. What is the existant relationships of the private sector and the public sector to the housing industry? In the United States? In Western Europe? In countries with a predominantly socialist economic and political orientation?
7. How much does national security mobilization affect the commitment of the above countries to adequate housing for all their citizens?
   a) How is housing affected by mobilization for military competition?
   b) In what way do balance-of-payments deficits affect the priority given to housing?
   c) What affect does competition over scarce resources have on housing programs?
   d) How is the inflationary spiral of housing costs affected by the triple national security competition?
8. To what degree are the unmet housing needs of these countries due to *too much* or *too little* involvement of their government in the housing industry?
9. Is this "too much" or "too little" government involvement due to ideology? To what extent is it due to national security imperatives? To other factors?
10. Is there a relationship between ideology and national security imperatives? If so, what are they?
11. In what way is "national security" used to preserve the status quo in present housing approaches? In the assumptions that underpin these approaches?
12. How can the ideptification of the national security straitjacket lay a basis for more effective coalition strategies to adequate housing? At the local level? The national level? The global level?

This monograph, along with others in *The Whole Earth Papers*, is published by Global Education Associates, as part of their educational services. The papers are an effort to foster grassroot consciousness of the linkages between local and global concerns and of the needs and opportunities to undertake initiatives toward a more human world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are being written following the publication of *TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket* (Paulist 1977) as a further development of and dialogue on the analysis and strategies outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische in that book.

It is hoped that *The Whole Earth Papers* will be a useful tool in the development of a broad-based movement of people and organizations working towards a more just and humanizing world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are designed as educational tools for adult and classroom educators, community organizers, lobbyists and issue constituency leaders as well as for individual and group study and reflection. G.E.A. welcomes comments on the papers, suggestions on topics for future issues and ideas on strategy and action which grassroots groups can undertake.

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HUNGER AND WORLD ORDER

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Whether it is due to a lull in world attention, or to a growing sense of helplessness and frustration, or simply to premature sighs of relief that the worst seems to be over, world hunger is just not making headlines with the urgency it received two years ago.

In the period 1976 into 1977, world food production is up. U.S. farmers boast of record harvests. Bumper crops in India and other food-deficit nations indicate progress in agricultural development. It sounds very encouraging. World food production is on the upswing. It becomes more and more difficult to deal with the irony that hunger is too.

To ask why hunger is on the upswing is to discover some of the most important and least recognized links in the persisting saga of world hunger.

In early 1977, a group of 300 experts from 16 nations gathered in New York for a three day conference on Food and Nutrition, sponsored by the New York Academy of Sciences. While the experts concluded that the future of the world's hungry remains pessimistic, some important insights were uncovered as in the case study of Brazil, one of the world's hungriest nations, boasting a phenomenal growth in food production.

To date, Brazil is still hailed as the "economic" miracle of Latin America. This is due mainly to the industrial expansion of the past 12 years. What has been overlooked is that her agricultural expansion has also increased and indeed is outpacing most of the developing world. The irony is that "growth" has neither improved the nutritional levels of the majority of people, nor is this really to be expected. The gap between economic progress charts and the growing poverty of the people is overlooked in the miracle.

Like most developing nations emerging from colonial dependencies and struggling with deficit-ridden economies, Brazil has interpreted "development" according to the strict parameters of the market system. Instead of food production for domestic consumption, land is given to the cultivation of lucrative "cash crops" which are channeled to the markets of affluent elites and nations who can purchase them with precious foreign exchange. With this urgently needed capital, Brazil can balance her trade deficits and fuel her domestic industrial growth.

While some 50 million peasants and subsistence farm families are chronically malnourished, while the urban masses queue up for diminishing doles of black beans, Brazil exports her harvests of black beans. While infant mortality rates testify to the 40% level of malnourishment, Brazil testifies to the cruel choices being made by twentieth century leaders world wide. She also gives witness to the lack of sufficient recognition of the structural dilemmas of a revolutionary global age that underlie many of those choices.

What is so startling about the case of Brazil is that it is not an isolated exception, but indicative of a trend that — within the present nation-state system — omens little hope for the world's hungry.

Despite all the educational efforts, humanitarian works, and technical assistance, the fact has not changed that this day cattle will be fed enough grain to feed 6 billion persons while the majority of the earth's 4 billion people are hungry. This is simply to state that there is a fundamental gap between the structures we have created for the wellbeing of humankind and their capacity to actually meet those needs.

To a certain degree and in some cases it is possible to link this depressing trend in hunger patterns to apathy or callousness on the part of affluent or government elites. But increasingly it becomes apparent that more than lack of good will is the cause of the problem and it will take more than good will to reverse the trend.

The *global system itself* mitigates against a resolution of world hunger.

STRUCTURES OR PEOPLE . . . . . .
NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM . . . . . .

One of the most formidable obstacles to overcoming world hunger are *structural inadequaces*. Humankind has evolved economic, political and social

systems throughout the course of history. At least in theory, they were evolved to cope with the basic material needs and security of people. In spite of the unprecedented knowledge and technological skills we have mastered, one of the greatest ironies to be faced is that *our structures now survive* outside of the control and power of the majority of the human community. The cost of stabilizing present economic and political systems is the wellbeing of over half the world's people.

Hunger, as an enormous problem in itself, is also *a symptom of a more profound problem.* It points to the inadequacy of the presently operative world view — that the security of each person is best provided by some 150 independent, sovereign nation-states, each operating unilaterally, without the constraints of mutually accepted laws, but all dependent on the same finite resources of the planet for the sustenance of life.

As long as the allegiance of national leaders is confined to the people, structures and territory within their national boundaries, the strongest imperative for leaders is to assure the defense of that entity and assure its access to whatever planetary resources are vital to its internal needs. *Mobilization for that national security, in its several implications, is one of the most pervasive causes of world hunger.* What is often overlooked, however, is that national security now goes beyond the previous concepts of guns and armaments. It is now a complex web of other, less obvious, factors.

We will consider three dimensions of national security competition as they affect the problem of hunger: competition over balance of weapons, over balance of payments and over scarce resources.

BALANCE OF WEAPONS . . . . . .
GUNS OR BUTTER . . . . . .

It has become obvious that the highest national expenditures in most societies is for armaments. (In some countries, expenditures for education exceed the military budget.) Currently some $350 billion is being spent annually by national leaders for military purposes. Each year, the amount escalates.

In and of itself, this drains a larger proportion of world-wide capital, natural resources and creative human productivity than any other public expenditure. Less than 1% of world military costs will be allocated to international peace-keeping; and total world economic aid will be under 6% of military expenditures— of which only a part is food aid. Ironically, this pivotal aid could do far more than tanks and missiles to reduce the violent conditions of poverty, disease and desperation which are major causes of revolution and internal social upheaval.

Thus, a country like Brazil, with urgent social needs, directs enormous amounts of capital to military and police security systems. This priority in military spending is not limited to Brazil, but is rather on the increase throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America. With their enormous domestic social needs, these countries have almost tripled their expenditures for weaponry in the past 15 years. This rate of growth is faster than the economic base supporting it and the cost is in terms of food, housing, education, employment and the well being and peace which they insure.

Given the *lack of global institutions* with effective authority to protect legitimate national rights, or to arbitrate differences and assure the just resolution of conflict, national leaders have little choice but to arm against the possibility of outside aggression. But the nuclear capability of present armaments has dramatically changed the nature of defense and the possibility of security. The escalating race for military superiority and the constant striving for adequate deterrance has not only made security universally impossible, but has drained public coffers and undermined all other human needs. Hence, public expenditures for education, for employment opportunities, for food stamps and assistance to the elderly are slowly drained to fuel the inflationary machine of war preparation.

In many Third World countries, leaders — fearing the demands of the poor majority for legitimate land reform and more equitable distribution of resources — increase military expenditures to assure internal order and maintain their position of dominance and privilege. Sophisticated police weaponry and methods of interrogation, elaborate intelligence systems and support of right wing terrorists organizations sap the resources of the poor as well as they preserve the status quo of the elites who continue to exploit them. There is no effective world law to protect a people from such illegitimate use of force and domination. "National security" in these instances is a phrase easily manipulated to maintain and rationalize the need for control. It becomes a Machiavellian euphemism for continuing oppression.

Some developed countries similarly indicate the growing problem of domestic hunger. Today, both urban and rural poor people spend more of their limited income for food than a year ago. Federal assistance programs have been cut back and in many places go unimplemented. To the poor of Detroit,

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The section on a Global Food Authority was developed with the aid of Jerald Ciekot of the American Friends Service Committee.

Newark, Baltimore or Milwaukee, inflation means a slow stunting of development, a slow decline of nourishment. For every federal tax dollar paid by a city such as Newark, only 12c comes back in the form of resources and services. Yet with the nation's highest infant mortality, unemployment and crime rate, and with the lowest literacy and health care, Newark still pays 55c out of every dollar for military security.

Relief programs such as those of CROP, UNICEF, Care and the whole gamut of humanitarian organizations working in the private sector, are caught in the same dilemma. Not only has federal assistance for grain purchase been cut back, but inflation — which is a global problem needing global solutions — saps the constant effort to sustain public interest with persistent pleas to give and give and give again.

One major cost of maintaining the balance of weapons is hunger.

One major cost of maintaining a balance of weapons is hunger.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: . . . . . TRANSISTORS OR BREAD . . . . . .

In our recent history, national security has become more complex than the struggle to avoid nuclear self-destruction. A whole new web of post-war economic and monetary interdependencies has exposed the vulnerability of all nation-states.

Lacking effective global institutions to deal with these dependencies, the world has witnessed a rising monetary instability that has made the phrase "balance of payments" a household word for anyone reading daily papers or listening to radio or TV news broadcasts. This growing crisis of balance of payments has a direct relationship to the problem of hunger.

Without a supranational authority to assure multilateralism and justice in international economic relations, countries — rich or poor, capitalist or socialist — must at all costs avoid a chronic deficit in international monetary transactions. Any prolonged imbalance of trade will deplete a country's monetary reserve of gold and foreign currency. Sustained deficits in a nation's balance-of-payments undermine the viability of its currency, threatening its domestic scene to inflation, unemployment and societal breakdown.

For many countries, balance of payments deficits are greater threats to national security than are threats from outside military intervention.

If a nation opts for a development model that will permit them to purchase and compete with other nation states for products and resources essential to industrial development (such as oil), they need foreign currency. Unless they are willing and able to sell some of their own products in the world marketplace they will not have these foreign reserves. National institutions and resources, therefore, are mobilized to produce goods and commodities that are marketable overseas — i.e., goods capable of bringing in the foreign reserves needed to offset monetary deficits.

Thus, in many poor nations, fertile, productive land that could produce food to feed its people is diverted to the production of *cash crops* for export. In Kenya, for example, vast areas of arable land is used to grow tea and coffee, a prime source of foreign monetary reserves. In Egypt, the focus is on the cash crop of cotton. This shift to cash crops has diverted the basic food self-sufficiency of many village regions to dependency on food imports. For others it has lead to chronic malnutrition.

In Peru, where fishing once provided protein for domestic consumption, the need to offset balance of payments deficits has shifted the benefits of the anchovy industry from the people of Peru to the cattle of Europe and North America.

Of course, some of the developing nations could forego a Western industrial development model and choose instead a food self-sufficiency model in which food production within their nation is kept for domestic consumption. But most want access to some of the benefits of Western technology and tools which they now lack and which, at least initially, they must import until their own capacity for industrial production has been sufficiently developed. And some nations, due to geographic conditions, (such as semi-desert areas) cannot grow sufficient food of enough nutritional variety for their own population. They depend on the export of other resources at just prices so that they have enough foreign reserves to purchase food in the world marketplace.

Balance of payments deficits also affect policies of the so called "developed" nations. As the international monetary system established at Bretton Woods in 1944 began to break down in the mid-1960's under the strains and pressures of growing global interdependence, the United States started to experience grave balance of payment deficits. These deficits began to have a strong influence on U.S. foreign policy on two major levels: food policy and armament sales. For the sale of grains and arms are the two major sources of foreign reserves for the United States — i.e., its prime rectifiers of balance of payment deficits.

There is a direct relationship between the demands of market viability and the consequent subsidizing and threatening growth of multinational agri-

Without a world security system to regulate the military, monetary and resource competition of our interdependent world, there is a logic by which leaders sacrifice many human priorities to policies designed to ensure necessary resources.

business. It must be faced with sober realism that planet earth is slowly being "purchased" by a centralized agricultural system, whose power and control is largely unregulated and little understood. In country after country, and indeed within the United States, the spectre of displaced farmers and peasants forced to urban centers is a direct manipulation of economic and political elites. While on the one hand, greed and power fan the human injustice of such a phenomena, on the other hand, the lawlessness of the global market legitimates it.

E. F. Schumacher's "small is beautiful" scenario may have proven that smaller units of labor-intensive agriculture is more efficient than capital-intensive agriculture of agribusiness. But "small is beautiful" cannot hold a candle to the organizational ability of agribusiness which enables it to finance, produce, cultivate, package and transport large quantities of food for the *world* market thereby assuring a nation of large quantities of foreign currency to offset balance of payments deficits.

The United States produces a greater percentage of the world's exportable grain than the OPEC nations produce of the world's exportable oil. Former Secretary of Agriculture Butz said that our food reserves were a powerful weapon in the diplomatic arsenal of the United States. An example is the huge grain sales by the United States to the Soviet Union. These sales have not only been designed to assure the policy of detente; they also assure large quantities of precious foreign currency. Whereas sales at concessionary prices — to those third world countries that would not have the capital or foreign reserves to pay prices competitive to world market prices—would substantially undercut this balance of payments benefit.

Which raises the profound issue of food as a market commodity. A central stress of the planning and proposals for the World Food Authority was on the *inalienable* "right to food" — a right that flows from the "right to life." Here we are confronted with a fundamental question of world order, namely, that of the basic resources of the earth as a "common heritage of humankind."

The "right to food" question has special urgency for those Fourth World nations whose economies and foreign reserves have been devastated by OPEC increases in oil prices. Many are unable to compete in the market for food and/or for the fertilizer and technology needed to expand their food production. Lacking effective world order institutions — based on principles of economic equity and social justice — which could provide these nations with access to foreign reserves, access to capital and trade preferences, millions of their citizens are denied that basic right to food.

The road to developing a *World Food Authority* empowered to deal with food apart from inflexible market forces and apart from imperatives of national security policy will not be traveled overnight. But the conceptualization at the Rome Food Conference of such an authority and of the "right to food" was an important first step. One result was the "Right to Food" resolution passed in Congress in 1976.

The second rectifier of balance of payments deficits, arms sales, has escalated since the quadrupling of oil prices in 1973. These deficits forced Western European nations — many of which are dependent upon OPEC for up to 80% of their oil — to join in the race to peddle arms to Third World countries as a source of foreign reserves. Such peddling — often facilitated by bribery from the coffers of armament manufacturers — means that many of the buyer countries have less capital and foreign reserves available for expansion of their agricultural sector. Indeed, the relationship between arms sales and balance of payments goals is so lucrative that even some Third World countries, e.g., India, have developed their own export industry of small arms.

Which points up the "transistors or bread" question quite explicitly. Much has been said of the tragic results of the imitation by Third World nations of the Western development model of capital-intensive, urban based industry; and how this imitation has caused grave neglect of agricultural development. Not enough attention, however, has been given to the role that balance of payments goals have had as a criterion for following this development model.

Lacking a World Monetary Authority to deal adequately and justly with legitimate foreign reserve problems, national leaders have little choice but to give first priority to producing not food but what sells in the world market — transistors, armaments or whatever.

At the same time, it cannot be overemphasized that the profiteering motive of exploitive political and economic elites is only legitimated and promoted by this national security imperative. It is a destructive cycle that feeds upon itself and anticipates no substantial equalizer on the horizon.

The task before us is to develop a moral maturity and political will to elect and motivate national leaders who can begin to replace the obsolete structures based on unlimited national sovereignty with structures capable of dealing with global realities too large for national control.

It is a formidable task. It demands that we call forth accountability within present structures, however inadequate they are. But more important, it demands that we question seriously the time-hallowed assumptions that underlie our notions of "progress", "development" and "civilization". A revolution (more accurately, a "provolution") must occur in our inner vision. The issue of *humanness* in development must finally be placed on the agenda of the human community. A new vision and ethic for meaning as well as for survival must be at the heart of the structural change so necessary.

RESOURCES FOR ALL? . . . . . .

While considering the security imperative of balance of weapons and payments, it is also important to consider the security imperatives of scarce resources competition.

The engine of technology has changed the face of the earth.

Technology today is as productive as its access to the earth's resources to fuel it. The nature of capital-intensive economics is tied up with enormous consumption of energy and raw materials. On a planet of material limitations, security is virtually tied up with resource availability. The scramble for fossible fuels, minerals, uranium, fresh water and arable land not only diverts capital to the futile search for self-sufficiency, but also creates a web of military alliances cutting across political and ideological lines.

U.S. grain production — about 240 million tons in 1977 — has become a powerful diplomatic tool in this national security competition over scarce resources. The use of the "Food for Peace" program by the United States in its national security strategies — i.e., providing grain to those nations complying with U.S. foreign policy objectives rather than to those nations in most critical need of food assistance — bears witness to the national security role of the Department of Agriculture during the late 60's and early 70's.

Congressional action in 1976 imposed more stringent guidelines on the use of food for humanitarian rather than political purposes. This along with the human rights stance of President Carter indicates *some* shift from this position. But the basic role of the Department of Agriculture as a central national security department remains as long as unlimited national sovereignty continues to be the altar around which nations worship.

Lacking a *world security system* that could assure an equitable distribution of the world's scarce resources, most nations are giving heavy priority to "energy independence." In the United States, this is spelled out in terms of tens of billions of dollars allocated — directly or indirectly — to energy related industries rather than to programs designed to resolve unmet human needs such as housing, health care, hunger, care for the elderly, etc.

Similarly Third World countries also are dominated by a drive to modernize their economies toward "energy independence." Hundreds of millions of dollars in scarce capital are being paid to multinational corporations with the technology to exploit their untapped natural resources.

Water, rural agricultural development, land reform, irrigation, transportation, storage and other aspects of domestic food production take a back seat to this energy mobilization. Also crucial is the growing pattern of nuclear energy development. It sets the same dangerous trend in terms of a centralized energy system upon which the world will be utterly dependent and completely vulnerable.

We are dealing with the reality of a lawless global arena. The rules of access and demand are made by those with the power to enforce them.

The irony is that even if the United States (and other countries) were to achieve energy independence by the 1980's — —an increasingly unlikely scenario — it would still be vulnerable in regard to many other resources for which we rely on other nations. Lester Brown describes this growing dependency"

> Of the 13 basic industrial raw materials required by a modern economy, the United States in 1950 was dependent on imports for more than one-half of its supplies of four — aluminum, manganese, nickel and tin. By 1970 the list had increased to six as zinc and chromium were added . . . Projections by the Department of the Interior indicate that by 1985 the United States will depend on imports for more than one-half of its supplies of nine basic raw materials — as iron, lead and tungsten are added to the list. By the end of the century, our country will depend on foreign sources for more than half of its supplies of each of the 13 raw materials except phosphate. 1.

One result of this growing dependency is the "aluminum security" that Brazil can provide U.S. corporations. The price for the U.S. is to cooperate with a military dictatorship which violates the basic democratic principles professed by the constitution and the citizens of the United States. While military and economic assistance has been cut by the Carter administration over human rights abuses in Brazil, U.S. dependancy on Brazilian aluminum deposits continues to foster large U.S. investments in mining the Amazon jungle.

It must be faced with sober realism that planet earth is slowly being "purchased" by a centralized agricultural system, whose power and control is largely unregulated and little understood.

Beyond political questions is the human cost. Indigenous people have been uprooted from their natural habitat. Their source of food and sustenance, is the tradeoff for technological development and the scramble for resources. In just one decade of mining and logging ventures in Brazil's Amazon interior, the native Indian population has dropped from over 3 million persons to less than 200,000. Hunger, disease, disorientation and the uprooting of their traditional values and culture have cost these tribal people their possible survival. It is a high cost for resource security.

In a world of growing interdependence, of growing appetite for consumer goods and of increasing consumption of energy and resources, mobilization for competition for the earth's finite resources has become a logical priority of national leaders of rich and poor nations alike.

Here we are dealing with the reality of a *lawless global arena*. The rules of access and demand are made by those with the power to enforce them. Without a *world security system* to regulate the military, monetary and resource competition of our interdependent world, there is a logic by which leaders sacrifice many human priorities to policies designed to ensure necessary resources.

AN ANALOGY . . . . . .

The "security straitjacket" which is impacting against a resolution of problems such as hunger can perhaps best be viewed through an analogy using the United States.

If the 50 States were no longer united under a federal system but were instead 50 "sovereign" and independent nations, each having to provide their own security against the possible aggression of the other nation-states, and if at the same time that they were building up their defense systems they had to negotiate with the other sovereignties to meet basic needs, the situation might not be much different than it is in the world system of today where over 150 "sovereignties" compete for military and economic survival.

The "sovereign" countries of California and Florida would be rich in fruits and vegetables (barring droughts and unusual freezes.) The Mid-Western "nations" on the Great Plains would be rich in grains. The "countries" of the Northeast would be relatively food-poor for their large populations, but rich in industrial products. Some of the Southwestern "nations" would be rich in oil and gas.

If these same "nations" put their faith in "national" sovereignty alone and were unwilling to invest some of their sovereignty in inter-state cooperation and a higher level of government to ensure their shared security, they would be in the unfortunate situation of each state having to give priority to military expenditures to ensure safety from possible attack by the other 49. Although military alliances would develop, nations would fear to rely solely on these because of a history of broken treaties. Meanwhile the quality of life — from spiritual and psychological as well as physical and material perspectives — would be undermined.

While maintaining a watchful eye against military advantage, these "sovereignties" would also keep an eye out for economic threats. If the Northeastern "sovereignties" imported too much grain and other foodstuffs but did not export sufficient shoes, fabrics, clothing, machinery, etc. at an advantageous price, they would lack the "foreign reserves" needed to pay for future food imports. The value of their currencies would decline and their economies begin to dwindle.

The problem of scarce resources — such as oil — would take on crisis proportions for many of these states if the Southwestern "nations" decided to stop "exports" to the cold Northern "countries." Mobilization for resource independence would radically alter priorties in "nations" such as New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, who would need to make alternative energy sources a matter of grave "national security."

The problems underscored in this analogy are further compounded in the world of nation-states as they exist in the real world of today when one realizes that many of the developing nations are much smaller than the State of California and lack the geographic diversity and agricultural potential of California.

Further, in this lawless world, where each sovereignty is a law unto itself, the people of many nations are at the mercy of dictatorships and powerful elites who have no higher accountability than the laws they themselves establish to protect their power and extend their control. Meanwhile, millions may be left landless while a few wealthy elites control food production and distribution. Or, lacking fair return for their labor, they have not the means to buy the food at the inflated prices charged them. Either way, they are the hungry victims of an unjust system unregulated and unaccountable to higher law.

STRUCTURES FOR PEOPLE: . . . . . A WORLD SECURITY SYSTEM . . . . . .

"The question is not one of 'surrendering' national sovereignty. The problem is not negative and does not involve giving up something we already have. The problem is positive — creating something we lack, but that we imperatively need."

Emery Reves [2.]

What the above analysis of the relationship between the national security system and hunger illustrates is a growing powerlessness of national leaders to deal with the human agenda.

Much has been written about the powerlessness of "the people". One response to this concern of citizen powerlessness is to view the problem simplistically as one of conflict between the "oppressor" and "oppressed." Or stated in terms of monetary and economic deprivation, the conflict is between "haves" and "have-nots."

Viewed in this framework, the solution is usually seen as lying in one of two directions. The first is that of moral conversion on the part of the oppressor, i.e., the "haves" who have control of food surpluses, capital, monetary reserves and technology. The second— in case such moral conversion does not occur — is world-wide confrontation between the "developed" and the "developing" worlds.

An analysis of the national security system, however, shows that humankind is not just limited to these two alternatives. For it reveals a structural straitjacket which renders powerless not only "the people," but also their leaders. The rapid emergence since World War II of new global interdependencies — technological, monetary and resource — has unleashed rampant global forces and created problems which national institutions cannot handle.

The multiple global crises — of which hunger is only one and with which hunger is inescapably interlocked — that confront us on every side are substantially rooted in the obsolescence of a system based upon the principle of *unlimited* national sovereignty. The new interdependent world is one in which *actual* sovereignty has become a myth: as unregulated global military, monetary and economic forces devastate domestic priorities and undermine humanistic, person-centered values.

Security — personal as well as national — is gravely threatened in such a lawless arena. What is needed is a *world* security system of global institutions commensurate to the interlocking crises of today's interdependent world. Such a system can loosen the straitacket of constant military, monetary and resource mobilization which are preventing nations from putting human needs and social justice, for their citizens and for all of humankind, as priorities on their agendas. It is also an essential link for regaining personal and citizen control over the rising threat of centralized political domination.

The world security system that is suggested for consideration is not a centralized "world government." It is, rather, a *central guidance system* of functional institutions with that limited authority needed to deal — according to the principles of social justice — with those problems which individual nations cannot resolve by themselves.

Central to such a world security system would be the *principle of subsidiarity*, applied within a world legal framework. Subsidiarity begins with the proposition that decision-making should be made at the lowest possible level. Only when problems cannot be managed and justice cannot be achieved at the local municipal, state or national levels, are effective juridical institutions needed at the global level.

WORLD FOOD COUNCIL . . . . . .

The *World Food Council*, proposed at the UN Food Conference in Rome, conceptualizes an example of a *functional* world order institution. The World Food Council is an important global creation, symbolizing a traditional effort to deal with a global crisis and concretizing an embryonic structure that could be empowered to deal authoritatively with food as an inalienable right of humankind.

It would be helpful here to consider the activities envisioned for the World Food Council, and assess their present effectiveness for implementing programs aimed at long range structural change. As conceived in its earliest stages, the Council has three major areas of activity:

1. *Food Production* aimed at eventual food sufficiency in as many developing nations as possible.

2. *A Food Security System* as an intermediate measure to assure adequate reserves of food for times of diseaster, strengthened by an early warning system to prepare for times of probable disaster.

The multiple global crises — of which hunger is only one and with which hunger is inescapably interlocked — that confront us on every side are substantially rooted in the obsolescence of a system based upon the principle of unlimited national sovereignty.

3. *Food Aid* as a stop-gap measure for assuring victims of hunger the essential nutrition needed for survival.

All three areas of activity are simultaneously evolving and are equally important if serious development is to be made in providing the opportunities for people to be assured of physical sustenance. Yet when we begin to probe into the functional design of these three areas, we begin to see how national sovereignty still poses major obstacles to the degree of progress really needed.

FOOD PRODUCTION . . . . . .

The most crucial goal of the human family is to become self sufficient in its food production. The growing pattern of dependency on fewer and fewer regions of the earth for the production of grain and cereals is both dangerous and unnecessary. It removes the assurance of readily available food further and further from the choices and possibilities of the majority of the world's people.

However, if real production is going to be achieved by, and benefit the really poor, both within and among countries, large amounts of capital will be needed to provide them with the necessary credit and technology. All this must be accompanied by services, programs of land reform, education and basic health care.

Toward this end, the World Food Council has targeted its emphasis on those countries identified as truly food-priority nations. It has set up an International Fund for Agricultural Development with a projected budget of one billion dollars. The voting strength of the Fund is one-third OPEC, one-third the developed countries, and one-third recepient countries. Funding is already proving a difficulty because the Soviet Union has refused this type of global support, thereby diminishing its global character. Misunderstandings about the amount agreed upon by OPEC has generated ill feeling among U.S. Congresspersons threatening to remove U.S. support unless other nations assume more responsibility. It becomes extremely important to understand that any initiatives in these areas will come from governments whose constituencies can provide a broad base of citizens who recognize and favor food self-sufficiency as a pressing goal of the human family.

While the World Food Conference recognized the critical importance of women in food production, and placed great emphasis on including them in the decision-making processes of both production and nutritional policies, there has been an almost total failure to consider, let alone implement, these directions. *Social and political changes within present national structures* are integral to any substantial reform. As yet, there is little indication that national leaders will surrender jurisdiction over these matters to any transnational authority.

Integral to the food sufficiency of poor countries is the critical factor of food trade and its relationship to the development of a New International Economic Order. The complex marketing and pricing procedures of international commodity trade are economic obstacles for deficit-ridden countries and need adjustment in a whole concert of ways. To this end, UNCTAD, GATT, and FAO have already been pushed for significant levels of economic restructuring. But up until now, little initiative has been offered by the industrialized nations who virtually control the rules of trade.

Confronted by the *security imperatives* of *maintaining their own delicate balance of payments*, wealthy nations are absorbed in the struggle against global inflation and — having not yet understood the national security staitjacket and its linkage to inner domestic needs — have little motivation to see preferential treatment given to poor countries. Lacking global monetary structures capable of achieving monetary security, the question of food trade is deadlocked.

FOOD SECURITY . . . . . .

A security system of *grain reserves* has always been considered essential to prevent starvation in times of hunger related disasters. Since biblical times, the human community has set aside its agricultural surpluses in order to provide security in times of want. Large U.S. domestic surpluses played an imporant part in the recuperation of the post world war era. However, since 1971, surplus stocks have virtually dried up, and in today's world, we live from harvest to harvest with only *marginal* surpluses and most areable land under cultivation.

A stable system of World Grain Reserves had been internationally proposed as early as 1947. When the 1974 World Food Conference made global reserves a *security* item, it was for a two-fold purpose. First, grain reserves are necessary to *offset natural diseases*, emergency conditions, critical weather fluctuations, etc., but *secondly* they are necessary to stabilize the extreme price fluctuations which so drastically impair the vulnerable economies of poor countries. The same fluctuations fan inflation and cause soaring price rises in the developed world, leaving people everywhere susceptible to the whims of an unpredictable market.

The proposed Global Reserves would be internationally maintained by a sharing of costs and efforts to build an accumulated margin of 125 million tons by 1980. While new ground was cut in encouraging a *global* system of reserves, only 68 nations have actually signed the *International Undertaking on World Food Security*. Those countries agreeing to cooperate, envision the reserves still under *national* control. So, for instance, U.S. reserves would still be held in U.S. control and these, in fact, still in the hands of private business.

Both China and the Soviet Union have refused to participate, and this presents a large deficiency in the system.

Especially crucial is the refusal of the Soviet Union to participate in the *Global Information and Early Warning System*, which, if adequately employed,

could favor largely in preparing an early response to a projected food crisis. The Soviet Union, because of her own domestic crop failures, has become a major, unpredictable customer at the World Food Marketplace. Transnational cooperation is crucial to a warning system largely dependent on information about anticipated crop disasters.

FOOD AID . . . . . .

The third major component of a transnational food authority is the complex arrangement of food relief. The necessary food assistance to offset immediate hunger needs remains an urgent item on the human agenda. At Rome, in 1974, a target amount of 10 million tons was projected. By 1976, that amount was closer to realization as food asistance increased to 9.2 million tons.

There is a crucial need to plan food aid on a longer range focus and this recommendation at Rome has yet to meet with success. World wide pledges to the World Food Program were essentially modest, and even within the U.S., increases in food grants brought the level of assistance to less than the levels of 1972. Spelled out in terms of substantial changes in the level of real nutrition, these gains were truly negligible. The FAO reports that "nutritional problems would remain severe even if the projected growth and demand, including satisfaction of the 85 million ton gap in food gains were fully met."

When we begin to assess the actual functioning capability of the World Food Council, we begin to understand in a concrete way the straitjacket of national security priorities.

It has already become clear, three years after Rome, that *major initiatives from the U.S.* are essential for any transnational movement forward. The council must prove its *value* to all participating governments. But that value will be given real credence by influence exerted by the U.S. So far, much bickering and squandering of time has occured, precipitated by a lack of any significant support from the U.S.

Much of the difficulty emanating from the deliberations is because the major concentration has been on simply producing more food. Little concentration has been on the *significant value and structural changes* which are really at the heart of the matter in and among the entire family of nations.

Which points up the need for grass-roots citizen participation in creating the climate where value and political decisions will truly effect the necessary structural changes. For the U.S. to take the bold initiatives needed to implement a global food authority, leadership within the U.S. must be responsive to strong citizen support for world order institutions capable of reflecting human, social justice and person-oriented values.

Significant structural progress, however, will not be made in isolation of other related developments. Progress toward a more just world order will occur to the degree that an individual agency such as a World Food Authority is developed as one aspect of a total growth process in which other world order agencies — e.g., World Seabed Authority, A World Monetary Authority, A World Environmental Authority, A World Disarmament Authority — are developed in concert.

A world security system based on functional institutions is not a quantum jump into the unknown. It can be built upon foundations already in existence. The development of the world order institutions needed for a viable human future will be a gradual process utilizing the infrastructure already available in its initial stages. The specialized agencies of the United Nations provide examples of such infrastructure.

The benefits of global institutions would accrue not only for the hungry, destitute and oppressed in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They would also be real for those citizens of blighted neighborhoods and rural wastelands of the United States, people who suffer from malnutrition, poor housing, urban decay and other domestic problems because their needs are now subordinated to the imperatives of national security priorities. A world security system would diminish the present structural powerlessness of our national leaders who, because of the straitjacket of our present obsolete world system, are substantially limited to giving only lip service to person-centered, social justice criteria for public policy.

Looking to the future, we hear conflicting forecasts about the reliability of present weather patterns and the threat of cooling air systems. Shall growing conditions be poorer or better? We also see projections of a rapidly doubling population on a planet of rapidly diminishing top soil and arable land. We see an actual decline in agricultural research as well as an "end-in-sight" to productivity gains in over-fertilized U.S. farmland.

And so we are forced to broaden our reflections and assess our present assumptions, attitudes and efforts. Such a revolution in thinking may well be the most pragmatic of liberations.

1. Lester Brown, World Without Borders (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), pp 193-4.
2. Emery Reves, The Anatomy of Peace, (New York: Harper & Bros.), 1944.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION.

1. If agricultural production is increasing world-wide, why does chronic hunger still persist among large groups of people?
2. Is there a relationship between income and nutrition? What are some of the factors involved?
3. Why does a country's military and war-related expenditures lead to inflation and internal weakness?
4. Why is it possible for national leaders to escalate military spending at the cost of goods and services aimed at rescuing human needs? Is it possible to reverse that priority and still provide for legitimate national defense?
5. Why is the exporting of agricultural products or "cash crops" so important to some developing countries? How is a country's national security related to its ability to maintain a balance of payments?
6. How could just and effective law ensure the climate for true interdependency and just distribution of the earth's limited resources?
7. Is resource self-sufficiency a realistic possibility for any sovereign state? Can the industrialized nations exist in isolation from the others?
8. How could effective world law allow nations to ensure mutual resource security? Is this a positive approach to ensuring world peace? Why or why not?
9. Do you think a *World Food Council* could evolve in isolation from other global functional institutions? Why or why not?
10. Is food self-sufficiency a realizable goal for the majority of nations? Can it happen without global monetary security?
11. What is the relationship between land-reform and true human security?
12. What global institutions already exist to provide positive steps toward a more just human future?

This monograph, along with others in *The Whole Earth Papers,* is published by Global Education Associates, as part of their educational services. The papers are an effort to foster grassroot consciousness of the linkages between local and global concerns and of the needs and opportunities to undertake initiatives toward a more human world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are being written following the publication of *TOWARD A HUMAN WORLD ORDER: Beyond the National Security Straitjacket* (Paulist 1977) as a further development of and dialogue on the analysis and strategies outlined by Gerald and Patricia Mische in that book.

It is hoped that *The Whole Earth Papers* will be a useful tool in the development of a broad-based movement of people and organizations working towards a more just and humanizing world order.

The Whole Earth Papers are designed as educational tools for adult and classroom educators, community organizers, lobbyists and issue constituency leaders as well as for individual and group study and reflection. G.E.A. welcomes comments on the papers, suggestions on topics for future issues and ideas on strategy and action which grassroots groups can undertake.

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hunger and world order:
SHAPING A MORAL VISION

By JEROME McKENNA, C.P.

the whole earth papers vol.1 no.4 fall 1977

This paper is the first in a series to be included in The Whole Earth Papers, to be written by people from diverse cultural and faith perspectives, on the moral and spiritual implications of world order issues.

THE NATURE OF MORALITY.....

In striving to shape a moral vision of the global problem of hunger, it seems necessary at the start to at least attempt a definition of morality. Morality, of course, is often confused with religion. Yet, religion and morality are not simply synonymous.

For believers an important basis and foundation for true morality is religion. Nevertheless, there have been moral efforts and there are moral systems not primarily centered in religion or at least not based on the divine fellowship. What is it that characterizes such systems? We begin immediately by discarding entirely all so-called scientific systems of ethics and all pragmatic methods of shaping human conduct which sacrifice the human person to the collective or to any other impersonal end, since these cannot form any serious basis of morality at all. In fact, they destroy morality.

Actually, we can consider only those systems which recognize the value of the human person. Thus, for Aristotle, Seneca, Kant, Schleirmacher, and any number of others, the human person himself or herself forms the basis as well as the goal of ethics. In a limited way, these systems preserve the earnestness of morality, since they place humanity in a comprehensive framework of meaning, value, and law to which it must conform. But the ultimate in meaning and goal is always the human person and his or her own development and perfection. Self is the value of values here. Religion takes the individual out of the narrow perspective of self and places him or her within the community in a relationship with other people and with God. Ultimately, then, both morality and religion have the same focus: community and fellowship with God. Religion-related morality has as its foundation a dialogue between God and humanity in which there is word and response, call and responsibility.

Every moral act involves a double accountability: accountability before God and responsible cultivation of a value which has an appeal for some individual, and accountability to the community in which one lives. The moral act is always in greater or less measure weighed with responsibility toward the other and toward the community — the family or neighborhood or town or nation or world, whatever the case may be.

Morality, then, is the relation between a human act and the ultimate end of the human person or the norm of behavior which flows from the human being's ultimate end. Morality can be fully understood where there is a genuine experience of conscience on the part of the individual. This occurs when a person, endowed with reason, and free, becomes aware of the claim of goodness and his or her obligation to strive to attain that goodness, even aside from prevailing customs or sanctions of law.

The experience of conscience is an inescapable one. Through conscience a human person experiences existentially, that is, in a way that draws him out of his own confining self, that his own integrity and authenticity are caught up in the good, drawn to it as it makes its claim upon him. When there is a search in honesty, then, for what is the good, there is genuine morality.

What justifies this claim of the good upon the individual conscience? What connection is there between that part of morality which regulates a person's relation to other individuals, to the community and to the ultimate Good? As we have already noted, others besides those who believe in a personal God live by moral values and fulfill moral duties. Their morality has no connection with a consciousness of the Holy, with religion. Nevertheless, it is impossible to explain the justification of goodness' claim upon the individual conscience without referring to the link between religion and morality. For in genuine moral experience, a human being who strives to live according to conscience, is not in the last analysis dealing with a mere principle or merely concerned with personal self-fulfillment. Such a person knows that ultimately he or she is in relation with the "Other" who can unconditionally give and demand.

MORALITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.....

Viewing the problem of global hunger from the moral perspective, then, we must do so through the prism of social justice. Hunger relates directly to human existence. Persistent hunger in an individual or in a group of individuals is indicative, among other things, of a lack of basic social justice.

Religion-related morality takes as a fundamental premise that human life is the highest earthly value, the human person the most sacred of creatures. By virtue of this very fact, every human person has rights and duties, flowing directly from his and her very nature. Pope John XXIII, in his memorable encyclical "Pacem in Terris" enumerated those basic rights of the human person: the right to life, to bodily integrity, and to the means which are necessary and suitable for the proper development of life. "These means are primarily food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care, and finally the necessary social services." But he goes on to state that "in human society to one man's rights there corresponds a duty in other persons: the duty, namely of acknowledging and respecting the rights in question . . . It is not enough, for example, to acknowledge and respect every man's right to the means of subsistence. One must strive to insure that he actually has enough in the way of food and nourishment."

Since justice relates directly to these specific rights and duties, regulating as it does the use of material goods and the relation to one's fellow human beings in regard to the material order and material possessions, it concerns itself with the common good of the human family, whether that be the smallest social unit or the entire global family. Social justice has been called the "justice of the common welfare." According to modern Catholic theology, "Social justice imposes the obligation of assisting those in need, insofar as it may be necessary to enable them to live in a manner worthy of human beings. The right to assistance in social justice arises from the natural right to life on the part of those in need and is measured by this right. Continuation of the assistance to the needy is conditioned, however, by the need itself. As soon as the needy individual can help himself, the obligation of any further assistance ceases."[2]

Our motive, then, in responding to the hungry of the world, is our religious belief either in the supremacy of an all-holy God or in the perfectability of the human person, or both. Belief in the dignity of human life implies belief in fundamental human rights, the right to food being one of the primary rights. The manner of our response to world hunger must take the form of action — action "on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world," its structures and organizations which inhibit people from realizing this basic human right.

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THE MORAL ISSUES

That having been said, we must now outline some of the fundamental moral issues connected with what Pope Paul VI has called the "crisis of civilization and solidarity."

Charity or Justice? Crucial to the whole situation is the manner in which we define the hunger problem because it will be in such terms that we come to an understanding of our moral responsibility. The hunger problem is not a humanitarian problem. Despite the fact that appeals by both government and private organizations have been couched in terms of help and relief, this is not a crisis which calls for a response in charity. Today the public commonly understands charity as a sharing of its surplus with those in want — all out of a motive of generosity. This notion of the hunger problem distorts the issue because, in the past, the United States government and many non-government agencies, including the churches, in this country did actually come to the aid of the needy by sharing surplus with them. Today we have no surplus to draw from. As J. Bryan Hehir, Associate Secretary for International Justice and Peace of the United States Catholic Conference, has stated: "We are asked now, not to share our surplus but to share our scarcity." Thus, the issue is not one of simple charity but of strict social justice.

The notion of food aid as charity also dilutes the choice we face as a nation. It is rather easy, if we view the problem in terms of charity, to choose not to increase our charity. And this can be done "legitimately." This fact was taken by the United States at the World Food Conference held in Rome in 1974. If the responsibility rests solely on charity and if charity has been basically satisfied, it is easy to choose not to be exceedingly generous next time around.

Viewing the hunger problem as a social justice issue, however, gives us a radically different perception. With justice, scarcity does not absolve us from moral responsibility. Rather, it intensifies the nature of the moral choice. To see the hunger crisis in terms of justice, is to take seriously the right of every human person to eat. If that right is being denied when the means are available to fulfill it, then it is time to look to the structures within world and national society which create the roadblock. This means, of course, inspecting *all* systems by which we determine what becomes of food in an increasingly interdependent world, and not just systems of production and distribution.

Social justice focuses not upon our *motive* for giving but upon the *substance* of our policies: aid,

trade, corporate practices and political maneuvers. Such an approach, dealing as it must with structures, poses the moral response not in terms of charity as an *option*, but in terms of justice as a *duty*. Failure to respond to the basic right of people to eat is not a failure in generosity, but a failure in fundamental humanity. It denies the unity of the human race and undercuts the striving of so many members of the human family for solidarity and interdependence in today's world. Ultimately, it becomes a failure to respond to the call of the "Other."

Convergence of Rights and Duties: To face the hunger crisis in terms of social justice also means facing the important question of whether food is simply a matter of money and markets or whether it has some special significance as a "sacred commodity." Again, from the perspective of social justice, it would seem that if the right to eat can be satisfied, but is not being satisfied, then it is necessary to look for those objective obstacles which stand in the way. Fr. Hehir puts it this way, "the law of the market like any human creation has its moral limits; if using it as a sole mechanism of distribution means that those most in need will not be fed, then the law of the market should be modified. In a limited, interdependent globe, this is not a giveaway program but a means of meeting minimal justice."[3]

The Common Good: There is a third moral problem which has to be faced and this has to do with the concept of the common good. To speak of modifying our domestic patterns of living to meet a pressing international need threatens, in a sense, the notion of national sovereignty or, to use the more familiar term, national security. If we move to meet international needs of starvation, it will definitely have implications for our domestic life. In an interdependent world, finding a way of choosing while taking both domestic and international needs into consideration is the essence of moral policy. The fact that tension does exist does not dissolve our responsibility but is precisely what national and international common good is all-about.

CONCLUSION

The world hunger crisis is clearly a people problem. People are suffering and will continue to suffer from hunger and malnutrition until such time as other people, conscious of their duty, come to the aid of their deprived brothers and sisters. Were the world a less complex place, perhaps the problem could more easily be solved. People would simply come to the aid of others, hopefully sharing what they had with them. The obvious lack of order in the world; the lack of adequate systems; the limited and sometimes ineffectual programs of world organizations like the United Nations and many of the churches, in addition to the complexity of the inhibiting structures throughout the world — economic, social, political, cultural, etc. — seem to militate against any quick or easy solution.

In 1975, accepting the Nobel Prize in Economics, Gunnar Myrdal delivered a major address on world development, in which he dwelt on the world hunger problem and its solution. He said, in part:

> "In this situation (world hunger) there are certainly moral and rational reasons for a new world order and, to begin with, for aid on a strikingly much higher level. In particular, people in the rich countries should be challenged to bring down their lavish food consumption. It is estimated that if the average American were to reduce his consumption of beef, pork and poultry by only ten per cent, twelve million tons or more of grain would be saved. This could save, perhaps, five times as many million people or even more, from starvation. This reduction of meat consumption would be in the rational interest of the American people. It is one-third less than recommended for health reasons. To a varying and usually lesser extent the same holds true in all developed countries.
>
> *The blunt truth is that without rather radical changes in the consumption patterns in the rich countries, any pious talk about a new world economic order is humbug.*"[4]

Despite such obstacles, solutions are possible, provided individual people become personally involved. Several things are obvious at this point. First of all, you cannot change an unjust situation, such as the hunger crisis, simply by changing global or national structures and institutions, unless you change the people inside them. Secondly, by changing only their economic status, you will not change people themselves. Thirdly, to concentrate merely on one aspect of the problem exclusively will not produce a just or balanced world. Fourthly, a true solution to the world hunger problem must embrace not only all peoples, but the whole person. What is required, consequently, is a conversion of people just as much as of structures and institutions. We will not attain a new international order unless it is built on and sustained by a new international moral order.

Taking Myrdal's argument further, what is needed today is an authentic conversion of heart on the part of all peoples, but particularly on the part of those who assume that they stand among the powerful of the world. This conversion will require a change in attitudes, particularly to *things*. Can we continue to accept a market system which provides for only those who want, while largely ignoring those who need? Can we continue to live within an economic order which fails to meet basic needs of all while catering to the overconsumption of the few? Ultimately we and others like us must make a choice between "having" and "being." For us, as members of Western Society, that sector of the globe which has been marked so visibly and, for a long period of time in the past, so strongly influenced by Christianity, it will mean a return to our roots.

Erich Fromm, in his most recent work, "To Have Or To Be," offers compelling reasons for such a return by present day Christians. Though Fromm, himself, is a non-believer, he develops the thesis that a new society can be brought into being only if

"profound change occurs in the human heart." He contrasts the "hero" in Christian tradition with his pagan counterpart. Jesus, he says, "was the hero of love, a hero without power, who did not use force, who did not want to rule, who did not want to *have* anything. He was a hero of being, of giving, of sharing." Fromm goes on to state that the "Christian hero was the martyr, for as in the Jewish tradition, the highest achievement was to give one's life for God or for one's fellow beings." In contrast, the pagan hero, personified in the Greek and German heroes, was the conquerer, the victor, the destroyer, the robber, whose fulfillment in life was pride, power, fame, and superior skill in killing. "For the pagan hero a man's worth lay in his prowess in attaining and holding onto power, and he gladly died on the battlefield in the moment of victory." For Fromm, the martyr's characteristics are *being*, giving, sharing; the hero's, *having*, exploiting, forcing.

> "If we look into ourselves, into the behavior of almost all people, into our political leaders, it is undeniable that our model of what is good and valuable is the pagan hero. European-North American history, in spite of the conversion to the church, is a history of conquest, pride, greed; our highest values are: to be stronger than others, to be victorious, to conquer others and exploit them."[5]

Conversion in our attitudes toward things, then, leads to conversion in our attitudes toward other people. While many of us may theoretically condemn Garret Hardin's "Lifeboat Ethic," we may be shocked to discover, as we probe our attitudes toward others, that this ethic is already being lived out in our individual lives. Paul Verghese of India condemned such an attitude, calling it "the ethic of nineteenth century Imperialism, Capitalism and Individualism." It is, he said, the ethic of "survival before justice!"

Finally, conversion requires a new way of life. Living amid glaring affluence and sinful waste, how long can we tolerate being part of what some have called "the acquisitive society?" In a world teaming with those who have not, in a society seeming to want ever more, can we dare to say "I don't need"?

Donald W. Shriver, Jr., President of the Faculty at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, speaks of a "bias toward the weak" as a necessary ethical principle in our facing up to our moral responsibility to come to the aid of the hungry. "Christians," he says, "have much reason in their tradition to attend carefully to the theoretical question here: whether a human world, organized around the principle 'you get only what you give,' is a truly human world." He continues:

> "Did human beings organize their societies without a kind of bias toward the weak — e.g., the extra-ordinarily weak human infant, whose fitness or survival depends strictly on the willingness of a family or a tribe to care for him according to his need? And if that rule for human life worked on a small scale to insure the survival of the specie, are we required to promote the survival of the specie on a global scale by some different rule? It is just possible that, over the millennia, compassion has been a key to human survival."[6]

The global hunger crisis exemplifies more poignantly and more starkly the many present day crises which plague the human family. But it also marks the convergence of the ongoing struggle of that human family to survive with the ancient dialogue between the All-Holy and humanity. History has not abandoned the weak and oppressed. In this context, the words of Jesus, "Anyone who tries to preserve his life will lose it; and anyone who loses it will keep it safe," are both a comment on history and a prophetic utterance.

NOTES

1. "Pacem in Terris," encicyical letter of Pope John XXIII, April 1963, I: 11, 30, 32. Claretian Publications, Chicago, IL.
2. Haring, Bernard, C.SS.R., *The Law of Christ*, Vol. I, Ch. 14, p. 519. The Newman Press 1964. Westminster, MD.
3. Hehir, J. Bryan, "Food: The Crisis and the Church," in *Our Daily Bread*, USCC, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 11.
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6. Shriver, Donald W., Jr., "Lifeboaters and Mainlanders: A Response," in *Lifeboat Ethics*, Harper Forum Books, 1976, p. 147.

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